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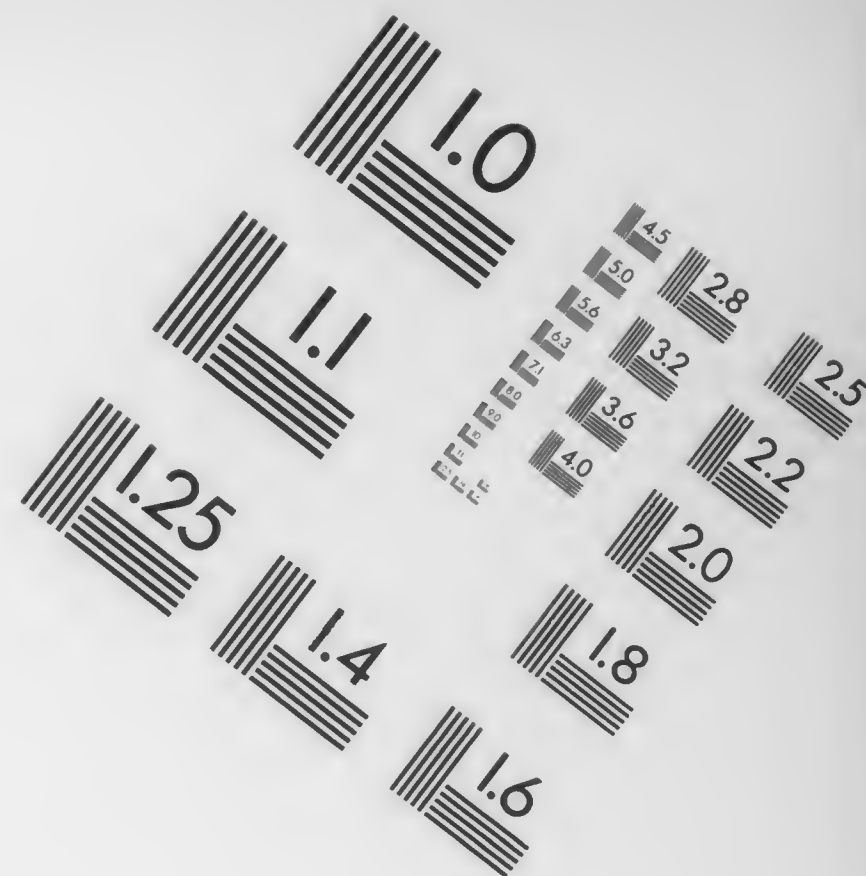
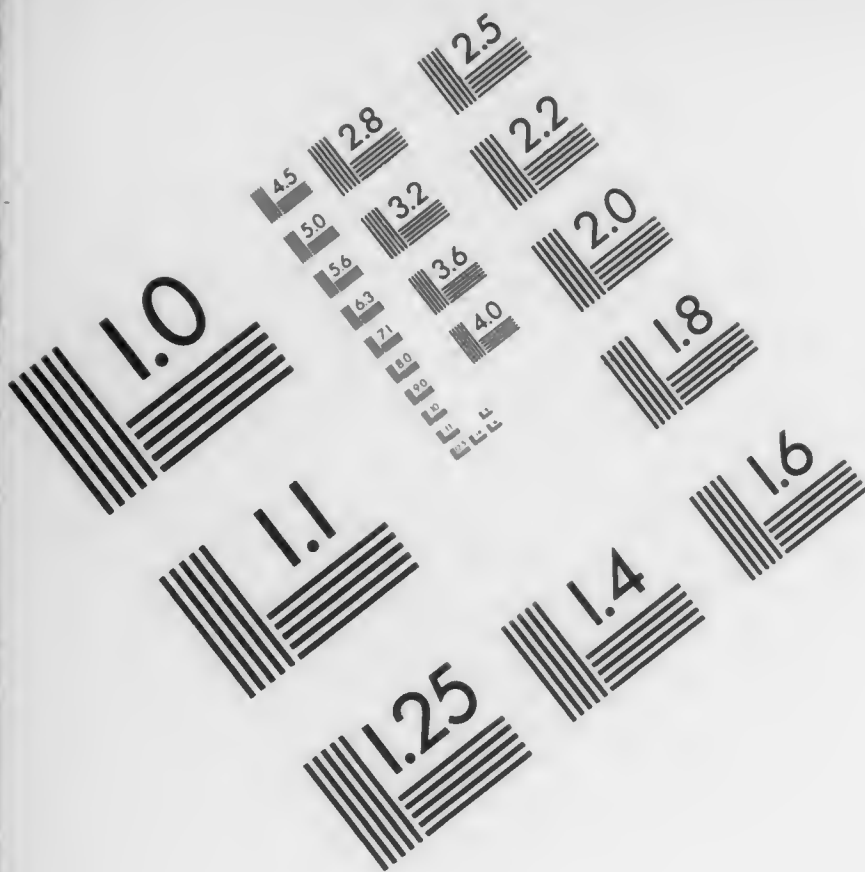
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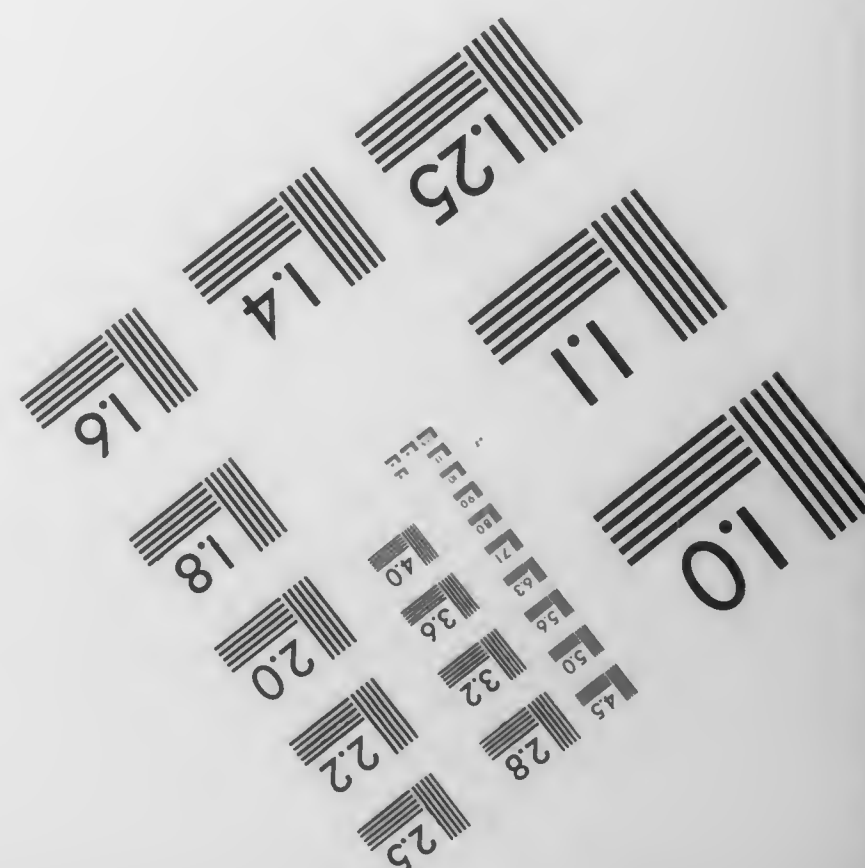
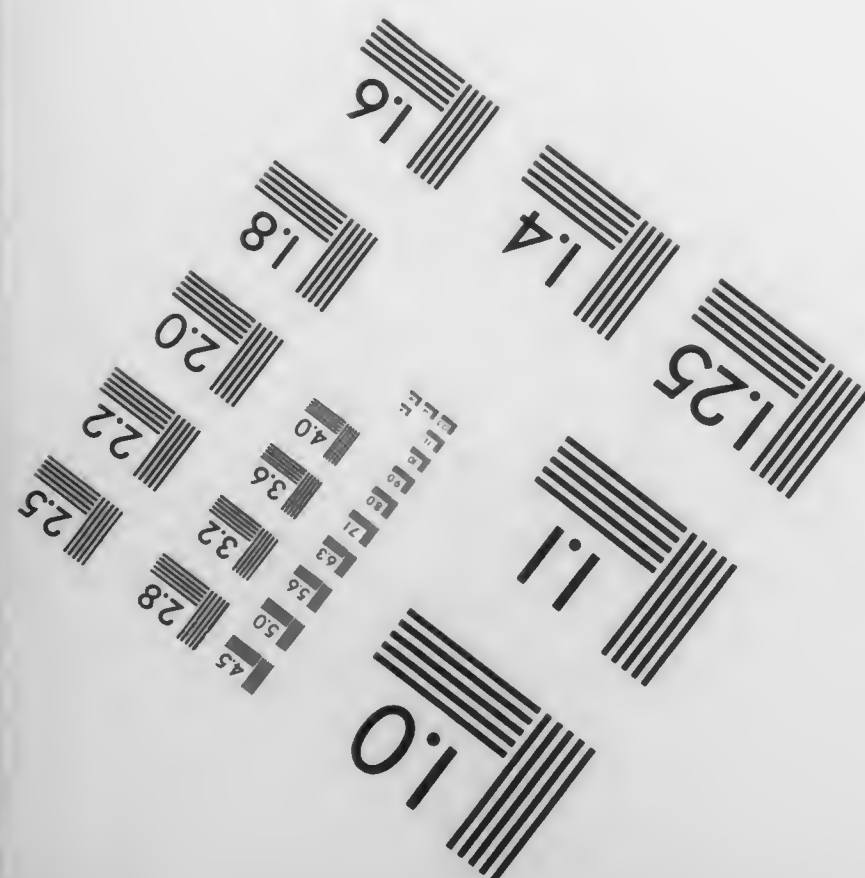
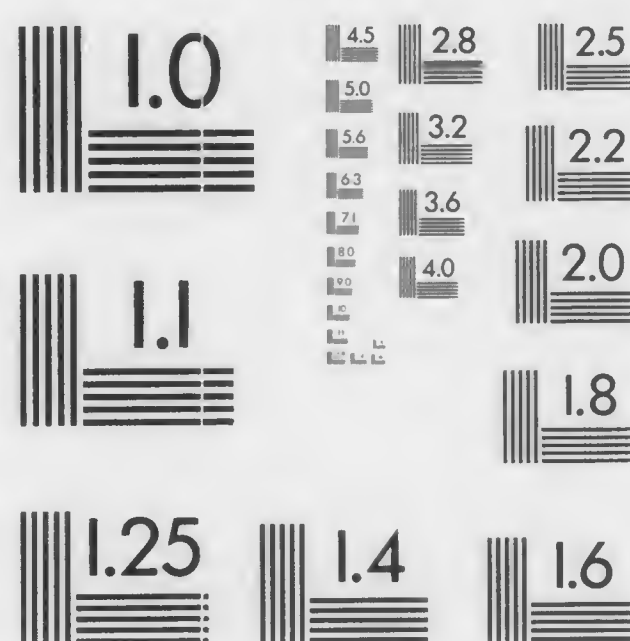
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TRISTIA BOOK I

THE TEXT REVISED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

S. G. OWEN, M.A.

STUDENT AND TUTOR OF CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD

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PREFACE

BESIDES the commentary of Lōrs (1839) I have used the notes of the earlier commentators; those from whom I have learnt most are Merula, Ciofanus, Micyllus, Pontanus, N. Heinsius, and Burmann, and from the admirable critical edition of the late Rudolph Merkel.

The two monographs by Dr. G. Graeber—referred to respectively as Graeber I and Graeber II—I. *Quaestionum Ovidianarum pars prior*, Elberfeld, 1881, and II. *Untersuchungen über Ovids Briefe aus der Verbannung*, Elberfeld, 1884, are a model of cautious criticism and wide learning, and I am greatly indebted to them for the matter of Introduction § III. I have also used Koch, *Prosopographiae Ovidianae elementa*, Vratislav. 1865; Lorentz, *De amicorum in Ovidii Tristibus personis*, Lips. 1881; Hennig, *De P. Ovidii Nasonis poetae sodalibus*, Vratislav. 1883; Schulz, *Quaestiones Ovidianae*, Gryphiswald. 1883; Washietl, *De similitudinibus imaginibusque Ovidianis*, Vindobon. 1883; Wartenberg, *Quaestiones Ovidianae* (Berlin, 1884). Some slight alterations and corrections have been made in this edition, which is substantially the same as the second.

OXFORD, 1901.

CONTENTS.

| | PAGE |
|--|-------|
| INTRODUCTION. | |
| § I. The Life of Ovid | xi |
| § II. The Works of Ovid | xxiii |
| § III. The Friends and Patrons of Ovid addressed in the Tristia and Pontic Epistles . . . | xxvii |
| § IV. On the Cause of Ovid's Banishment . . . | xlix |
| § V. The Literary Value of the Tristia . . . | liv |
| § VI. On the Text of the Tristia | lix |
| TEXT | I |
| NOTES | 27 |
| APPENDIX | 97 |
| INDEX | 103 |

INTRODUCTION.

I.

THE LIFE OF OVID.

PUBLIVS OVIDIVS NASO¹ was born at Sulmo², now Solmona, a little town situated amongst the cold, well-watered hills of the Paeligni, one of the Sabine races of ancient Italy³, in 711/43, the year in which the consuls C. Vibius Pansa and A. Hirtius defeated Antony at Mutina; though Hirtius was killed in the battle, and Pansa died not long afterwards from his wounds⁴. The self-consciousness of Ovid has furnished the biographer with very full materials for writing his life⁵; and we are enabled to fix March 20th as the precise day of the month on which his birthday fell⁶.

¹ The *praenomen* and *nomen gentile* are well established by the authority of both (a) MSS. and (b) ancient authors; the *cognomen* occurs frequently in his writings.

² T. iv. 10. 3:

'Sulmo mihi patria est, gelidis uberrimus undis,
milia qui noviens distat ab urbe decem.'

³ See Am. ii. 1. 1; 16. 37; iii. 15. 3; P. iv. 14. 49; F. iv. 81.

⁴ T. iv. 10. 5:

'editus hinc ego sum; nec non, ut tempora noris,
cum cecidit fato consul uterque pari.'

⁵ See especially T. iv. 10, which is a brief autobiography.

⁶ T. iv. 10. 13:

'haec est armiferae festis de quinque Minervae,
quae fieri pugna prima cruenta solet.'

i. e. the second day of the festival *Quinquatrus maiores* in March, which began on the 19th, and lasted for five days; and was the chief

His father belonged to an old and respected equestrian family; and though not in the possession of enormous wealth, enjoyed a tolerable competency¹. The poet's frequent complaints of poverty in the youthful *Amores*², coupled with the confession that the father restricted the allowance of the naturally too luxurious son³, lead to the inference that he was a man of careful habits, who by saving and management increased his property, which must have been worth a million sesterces or upwards, the amount of a Senator's qualifying estate⁴. For the poet tells us that along with the *toga virilis* he assumed the *latus clavus*, the broad purple stripe down the front of the tunic, which originally distinguished Senators from Equites, who wore the *angustus clavus*, but which was conceded by Augustus to the sons of Equites, who possessed a senatorial census⁵.

Ovid, the second of two sons, was exactly a year junior to his elder brother⁶. The two were educated together at Rome under the best masters; and the elder entered with enthusiasm upon the career of an advocate, for which he was by nature well fitted; but unfortunately died in his twenty-first year⁷. Ovid himself had no liking for the law, but from childhood was devoted to poetry. But in obedience to his father's advice he endeavoured to devote himself to more serious subjects, and

holiday of the Roman year (Mayor, *Iuv.* x. 115). This feast was celebrated with gladiatorial contests, which began on the second day (F. iii. 811 ff.), the day of Ovid's birth.

¹ T. ii. 110 ff.; iv. 10. 7-8.

² i. 3. 9; 8. 66; ii. 17. 27; iii. 8. 1 ff.; A. A. ii. 165.

³ Am. i. 3. 10:

'temperat et sumptus parcus uterque parens.'

⁴ Becker-Marquardt, ii. 3. 219-220.

⁵ T. iv. 10. 29:

'induiturque umeris cum lato purpura clavo.'

⁶ T. iv. 10. 9:

'genito sum fratre creatus,
qui tribus ante quater mensibus ortus erat.
Lucifer amborum natalibus adfuit idem;
una celebrata est per duo liba dies.'

⁷ T. iv. 10. 15 ff., 31-32.

attended the rhetorical schools of the two chief teachers of declamation, Arellius Fuscus and Porcius Latro. To this influence is due the strong rhetorical colouring which tinges his style¹; and which is interestingly illustrated in the criticisms of the elder Seneca².

In the meantime, however, he had composed some at any rate of the *Amores*; for these he recited in public in his twenty-first year, and at once established his claims to be considered among the leading poets³. At some period early in his life he travelled on a 'grand tour' in company with his friend and fellow poet Macer, visiting Greece and the famous cities of Asia Minor, and staying for nearly a year in Sicily in the course of his return⁴.

Having thus finished his education after the approved mode he settled down at Rome. For public life he had little aptitude; though we find that when quite a young man, probably before his Asiatic tour, he held some of the minor judicial offices which preceded the quaestorship, and are often collectively described as the *vigintiviratus*. Thus he tells us that he was one of the *tresviri capitales*⁵, whose business was to execute capital sentences, burn books, &c.; that he was one of the *decemviri stlitibus iudicandis*⁶, a board who were made by Augustus presidents of the centumviral courts; that he was one of the *centumviri*⁷, a court which adjudicated upon civil actions, chiefly

¹ See especially the celebrated speeches of Ajax and Ulysses in M. xiii. *init.*

² See M. Seneca, *Controv.* ii. 10. 8 ff.

³ T. iv. 10. 57 ff.

⁴ T. i. 2. 78 n.; i. 8 introd.; P. ii. 10. 21 ff.; F. vi. 423.

⁵ T. iv. 10. 34:

'Deque viris quondam pars tribus una fui.'

⁶ F. iv. 384:

'inter bis quinos usus honore viros.'

⁷ T. ii. 93:

'nec male commissa est nobis fortuna reorum,
lisque decem deciens inspicienda viris.'

P. iii. 5. 23. For the centumviral court see Wilkins on Cic. de Or. i. § 173.

affecting property and inheritances; and lastly, that from time to time he acted as a private arbitrator¹.

But he soon abandoned all thoughts of public ambition, and of entering the Senate, for which he felt himself unfitted both by inclination and physical weakness²; and lived in quietness and ease, passing his time partly at Rome, and partly in the retirement of his gardens on the *Via Clodia*³. His lot was now indeed a fortunate one; he had attained during his life-time to that immortality, which is rarely conceded until after death⁴. His reputation was such that he was publicly acknowledged to be the successor to Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius in the series of Roman elegiac poets⁵. He enjoyed the patronage and friendship of many powerful men; the circle of his personal friends and acquaintances was a very wide one⁶. He was the centre of a brilliant literary society, which numbered in its ranks all the poets of the day of any consideration. Vergil he had only seen; Horace he had heard recite; Tibullus died too young for his friendship; but Propertius was joined to him by the close tie of *sodalitium*⁷. A host of younger poets clustered round him, most of whom are unfortunately scarcely more than names to us. Amongst these, besides Cornelius Severus, Albino-vanus Pedo, Celsus, Macer, Tuticanus, and Carus, who will be spoken of later⁸, there were Montanus, Rabirius, and L. Varius Rufus, who sang the glories of the Empire in epic verse⁹; there

¹ T. ii. 95:

'res quoque privatas statui sine crimine iudex,
deque mea fassa est pars quoque victa fide.'

² T. iv. 10. 35 ff.

³ xi. 37 n.

⁴ T. iv. 10. 121:

'tu mihi, quod rarum est, vivo sublime dedisti
nomen, ab exsequiis quod dare fama solet.'

⁵ T. ii. 463 ff.; iv. 10. 51 ff.

⁶ See inf. § III.

⁷ T. iv. 10. 46 ff.

⁸ Inf. § III.

⁹ Rabirius wrote a description of the Battle of Actium and the flight of Antony and Cleopatra into Egypt; Hennig, *De P. Ovidii Nasonis poetae sodalibus*, p. 11, to which admirable monograph I am indebted for the particulars about the writers here mentioned.

was Valerius Largus, whose poem on the wanderings of Agenor united Greek and Roman legend after the manner of Vergil; there were adapters of the Greek epos,—Lupus, who sang the wanderings of Helen and Menelaus; Camerinus, who wrote a Latin continuation of the Iliad in imitation of the Cyclic poets; Tuscus, whose *Phyllis* dealt probably with the legend of Phyllis and Demophoon; Ponticus, who wrote a Thebais; and Domitius Marsus, whose *Amazonis* told the famous story of the fight between Theseus and the Amazons. There were the didactic poets—Aemilius Macer, and Gratius; Macer an imitator of Nicander, who composed an *Ornithogonia* on the habits of birds, a *Theriaca* upon antidotes, and a *De Herbis* on the virtues of plants¹; and Gratius, the 541 surviving lines of whose *Cynegetica* are a dry and uninteresting metrical treatise on the chase. There was Sabinus, whose heroic epistles were cast in the same manner as those of Ovid²; the epigrammatists Bassus and Capella; Proculus, the imitator of Callimachus; Fontanus, who sang of the Loves of the Nymphs and the Satyrs; Titius Rufus, who attempted to transplant the lyric of Pindar into Latin; the tragedians Gracchus and Turranius; and the author of many comedies (*togatae*), C. Melissus, the learned freedman of Maecenas, and librarian by the Emperor's appointment of the library of the Porticus Octavia.

Nor was Ovid on the whole less fortunate in his domestic circumstances. His father reached the ripe age of ninety, and his mother must have lived to a great age, for both died a few years only before his exile³. Though three times a husband, in the first two cases the union was of short duration. To his first wife, whom he naïvely describes as unworthy of himself⁴, he was married

¹ Hennig, p. 34; Peter, *Fasti*, p. 3.

² The three letters sometimes found ascribed to Sabinus at the end of Ovid's *Heroides* are a forgery by a sixteenth-century Italian named Angelus Sabinus.

³ T. iv. 10. 77–80.

⁴ T. iv. 10. 69–70:

'paene mihi puero nec digna nec utilis uxor
est data, quae tempus per breve nupta fuit.'

when almost a boy¹; but they were soon divorced, and his wife's character does not seem to have been unimpeachable. Of his second wife we know only that she too, though by his own admission blameless, was soon dismissed². One of these two wives came of the Etrurian tribe whose chief town was Falerii; though the poet's language does not enable us to determine which³. His liaison with Corinna, the mistress whom he celebrated in the *Amores*, may be assigned either to the period intervening between his first and second, or that between his second and third marriage⁴. In his third wife he was more fortunate. She was a person of some consideration, for she belonged to the *gens Fabia*, and thus was connected with his powerful patron Paullus Fabius Maximus, with whose wife Marcia she was on intimate terms; and was even a friend of the Empress Livia⁵. Consequently this marriage seemed to promise great material advantages, and more especially the favour of the Imperial house, though we are hardly justified in supposing with Boissier⁶ that it was a mere arrangement of convenience, and destitute of affection, for he always speaks of this wife with great warmth of feeling, and praises highly her faithfulness to himself, and the courage and constancy with which she defended him against the frequent attacks of the merciless private enemy⁷, who

¹ He may have been married at fourteen years of age, when a boy might contract legal matrimony; the age for girls was twelve. Macrob. Sat. i. 9.

² T. iv. 10. 71-72:

'illi successit, quamvis sine crimine coniunx,
non tamen in nostro firma futura toro.'

³ Am. iii. 13. 1; Peter, *Fasti*, p. 5.

⁴ As there are no traces of such an amour in the period of his second marriage (Jahn, *Ov. carm. am.* p. 226), and as he gives no hint that it took place during his first, I hazard this conjecture, though the evidence is too scanty to make it more than probable. Ovid's language is too definite to warrant K. P. Schulze's assertion that Corinna is a mere creation of the poet's fancy (Berliner *Philologische Wochenschrift*, Jan. 30, 1886, p. 134).

⁵ T. i. 6. 25; iv. 10. 73.

⁶ *L'Opposition sous les Césars*, p. 162.

⁷ Against whom the *Ibis* is directed.

endeavoured to despoil the absent exile of his property, in which difficult task she received counsel and assistance from her uncle Rufus, to whom P. ii. 11 is addressed¹.

This wife survived him; her daughter by a former husband was married to P. Suillius Rufus, a man of noble family, whose mother Vistilia was also by other husbands the mother of Domitius Corbulo, and of Caesonia, wife of Gaius. Suillius acted as quaestor to Germanicus, and the poet, in the only letter addressed to him, P. iv. 8, begs Suillius to procure for him the favour of that prince. In 777/24 he was banished by Tiberius for receiving bribes in the discharge of his duties as a judge²; but under Caligula and Claudius he again entered political life, and was consul, though in what year is uncertain; and in 805/52 or 806/53, towards the close of the reign of Claudius, he administered Asia as proconsul. He was possessed of considerable oratorical powers, which his greed led him to devote to attacking wealthy men. Under Nero he was accused of a number of crimes, and condemned in his old age to banishment in the Balearic Isles, where he lived on for some time³.

Ovid had one daughter, whose name he never mentions, possibly for metrical reasons⁴, though he makes several references to her⁵. We are not directly told which of his three wives

¹ That he was her uncle is shown by the words, P. ii. 11. 15:

'namque quod Hermiones Castor fuit, Hector Iuli,
hoc ego te laetor coniugis esse meae:
quae, ne dissimilis tibi sit probitate, laborat,
seque tui vita sanguinis esse probat.'

Koch, *Prosopogr. Ov.* p. 23, has correctly explained that the reason why Rufus is only once addressed in the *Pontic Epistles* is that, though a man of high character, towards whom the poet felt grateful regard, he was not influential with the Caesars, and thus could not be of use towards procuring the exile's recall.

² Tac. A. iv. 31.

³ 'Ferebaturque copiosa et molli vita secretum illud toleravisse,' Tac. A. xiii. 43. See Koch, p. 27; Graeber, i. x.

⁴ This ingenious suggestion I owe to Constantius Fanensis; *Hecatomstys*. 1508, cap. 35.

⁵ See T. i. 3. 19; iv. 10. 75; P. i. 8. 32; F. vi. 219 ff. That this daughter was not the poetess Perilla, addressed in T. iii. 7, has been

was her mother, but the following considerations show her to have been the daughter of the second. She was no longer very young at the period of his exile, for she had been twice married, and had given birth to two children¹. Hence, as his third wife is described as being at that time still *iuvenis*², she can hardly have been the daughter of that wife. Again, speaking of his departure from Rome in T. i. 3. 97, he says of his wife,—

‘nec gemuisse minus quam si nataeque virique
vidisset structos corpus habere rogos.’

Now, as his third wife had, by a former husband, a daughter of her own, married to Suillius Rufus, if Ovid's daughter had also been her daughter, he would have written *natarum* rather than *natae*. Further, in celebrating his third wife's birthday, he mentions only one daughter of hers, who must have been the daughter by her former husband³. Hence it follows that she was not the daughter of his third wife. And as he speaks so slightly of his first wife—which he would hardly have wounded the feelings of his daughter by doing, had she been her mother—and as he lived for some time apparently on happy terms with his second wife, it is probable that she was the daughter of his second wife⁴. About this daughter we know little. She was twice married, as we have seen: her second husband was Fidus Cornelius, a senator, whom she

conclusively shown by Masson, Vit. Ov. p. 111, ed. Fischer, and Lörs intr. to iii. 7; and it is strange that this misconception should have been revived by some modern writers, e. g. Teuffel, Hist. Rom. Lit. 242. 2, Ramsay, Selections, p. xv, and Hallam, Ovid's Fasti, p. xii.

¹ T. iv. 10. 75:

‘filia me mea bis prima fecunda iuventa,
sed non ex uno coniuge, fecit avum.’

² P. i. 4. 47:

‘te quoque, quam iuvenem discedens urbe reliqui,
credibile est nostris insenuisse malis.’

³ T. v. 5. 19:

‘illa domo nataque sua patriaque fruatur.’

⁴ This is the conclusion of Constantius Fanensis *u. s.* and Lörs, Tristia, p. 433.

accompanied to the senatorial province of Africa, of which he was probably proconsul in 761/8¹.

The love-poetry of Ovid's life reached its climax in the *Ars Amatoria*, a book distinguished equally for its brilliancy and its heartless immorality. The topic of love seemed now to be exhausted, and the poet in his middle age turned to more serious matter, and devoted himself to the composition of the *Metamorphoses* and the *Fasti*. In these labours he was suddenly interrupted. In the fifty-first year of his age, in the autumn of 762/9, when in attendance upon his powerful friend M. Aurelius Cotta, as one of his suite, in the island of Ilva (Elba), a mandate was suddenly brought to him from the Emperor, informing him that his *Ars Amatoria* was expelled from the public libraries, and that he must quit Rome and take up his residence as a ‘relegatus,’ the mildest form of banishment², at Tomi, in Moesia,—near the modern Kustendsche,—on the western coast of the Pontus Euxinus, which was one of the numerous frontier fortresses (*castella*) that defended the Empire against the incursions of barbarians³. On receiving the news of his banishment he repaired to Rome in order to arrange his affairs⁴, and left it at some time in November (intr. to El. iv. p. 51), sailing to Lechaeum, where he crossed the Isthmus of Corinth, and took ship again from Cenchræe to Samothrace; from this place he sent his effects on to Tomi in the ship in which he had come, and, after staying at Samothrace, proceeded on land through Thrace in the spring of 763/10 (Wartenberg, p. 16). He seems in the course of his journey to have lost much of his property, through the dishonesty of those who accompanied him⁵.

¹ T. i. 3. 19 n.; M. Sen. dial. ii. 17.

² See note in Appendix on ii. 72.

³ T. iii. 9. 33; iv. 10. 97; Graeber i. iv.–vi. The name Tomi was etymologically connected with *τέμνω*; and it was supposed that it was here that Medea, in her flight from Aetes, cut up the body of her brother Absyrtus, T. iii. 9. 33; Masson, Vit. Ov. p. 108; Grote, Hist. Gr. i. 221.

⁴ See the touching description of his last night at Rome, T. i. 3.

⁵ P. ii. 7. 61–62. In the course of his journey (on which see intr. to El. x. p. 83) he may have received several letters from his wife and friends

The sentence of banishment was never revoked, either by Augustus or his successor Tiberius. The unfortunate poet spent the rest of his days in composing elegies, in which he lamented the miseries of his lot, and sought by flattery and supplication to conciliate the offended Emperor¹.

The latitude of Tomi is really much the same as that of Florence, but so severe was its climate that Ovid persistently regards it as lying far in the Arctic circle (El. v. 61 n.). 'The town,' he says, 'is protected in summer by the Danube stream; but when winter comes all is frost and deep snow, which the sun has scarcely power to thaw. Nay, sometimes it lies

at home (Schulz, Q. O. p. 7. See note on iii. 91); though Wartenberg, p. 22, doubts this. He must have waited till the spring to go through Thrace on land; for considering the severity of the winter in those regions, upon which he so frequently enlarges, such a journey would have been at that season impossible.

¹ The constant ascription of divinity to the emperor is highly offensive to modern European taste, but it may be doubted whether it would appear in the same light to a modern Oriental. The abuse which is lavished upon Ovid on this account is hardly deserved. It has been well shown by Professor Nettleship that the cult of the Caesars arose from a genuine popular feeling. 'What seems to modern sentiment a tasteless falsehood appeared to the religious or superstitious temper of the congeries of nations then forming the Roman world, a not unnatural development; the exclusive religion of the Roman Republic . . . was dissolving, and the worship of Divus Julius once called into life in popular feeling and observance, the flexible servility of Greek paganism, which found it easy and natural to invest any benefactor of mankind with divine or quasi-divine honours, united with Oriental extravagance and Roman devotion in offering homage to the visible centre of Roman greatness, and thus virtually bowing to the spirit of the Roman religion in its new embodiment' (Essays, p. 133). Instances of the same attitude are Prop. iii. 4. 1; iv. 11. 60; Hor. C. iii. 3. 11; Epp. ii. 1. 16. See Tac. A. iv. 37; Suet. Aug. 59; Sellar's Vergil, p. 14 ff. Ovid and his contemporaries were probably not more serious when they spoke of 'deus Caesar,' than were the ancient cavaliers in the language they employed towards their mistresses. 'God and the ladies were familiarly appealed to in the same breath; and devotion to the fair sex was as peremptorily enjoined upon the aspirant to the honour of chivalry as that which was due to heaven.'—Scott, Fair Maid of Perth, ch. ii. Cp. Am. ii. 11. 44.

throughout the whole year, and one year's snow is piled upon the snow of another. So violent is the north-wind that it often levels towers and carries roofs away. . . . The shaggy hair of the inhabitants rattles as they move with the hanging icicle; the beard is white and glistening. The very wine freezes, and the Danube itself becomes a firm mass of ice, over which men and horses and wains of oxen can safely pass. The sea freezes, and I myself have trod its slippery surface. The ships are stuck fast, and fishes are closed up alive in ice. The barbarian enemy avails himself of the opportunity to cross the frozen river, and with his mounted archers overruns the whole country side. Cattle and waggons and all the farmer's poor possessions fall a prey to him; many are led into captivity; many die in torments, wounded by the poisoned arrows. What they cannot carry off they burn. Even in time of peace the constant fear of war blanches every cheek. All industry is at a standstill. Here is no corn crop, no vineyard, no orchard, nothing but the desolate expanse of bare and treeless fields¹.

The dangerous and disturbed condition of those districts is not at all overstated². It is hardly necessary to say that there was no one at Tomi to offer the poet literary sympathy. The place was so remote that it took a whole year to communicate with Rome, six months each way³. We are thus enabled to realise the force of the persistent, though unavailing, prayer of the unfortunate exile, that the place of his banishment might at least be less dangerously situated and less remote⁴.

¹ T. iii. 10. 7 ff. See similar descriptions in v. 10. 15 ff.; v. 12. 53; P. ii. 7. 65 ff.; P. iii. 8.

² The constant incursions of the Dacae were one of the frontier difficulties of the empire: Suet. Aug. 21; Hor. C. iii. 6. 14; Sat. ii. 6. 53; Mommsen on Mon. Ancy. pp. 128-132.

³ P. iii. 4. 59; iv. 11. 15.

⁴ T. ii. 577:

'tutius exilium pauloque quietius oro,
ut par delicto sit mea poena suo.'

Cp. *ibid.* 185 ff.; iii. 6. 37; 8. 42; v. 2. 77:

'quod petimus, poena est. neque enim miser esse recuso,
sed precor, ut possim tutius esse miser.'

Yet he had one consolation, for he won the appreciation of the inhabitants, and became so far acclimatised as to learn the Getic language¹, and to compose in it a poem in praise of Augustus, the contents of which he briefly summarizes in P. iv. 13. 19 ff., and which, had it been preserved, would have been of incalculable philological interest. It was no doubt in recognition of this effort that he received a crown of honour from the inhabitants².

He died at Tomi in the same year as the historian Livy, 770/17, and was buried near the town³. In person Ovid was slender and not naturally strong; P. i. 5. 51,—

'hoc quoque me studium prohibent adsumere vires,
mensque magis gracili corpore nostra valet.'

ibid. 10. 21,—

'is quoque, qui gracili cibus est in corpore, somnus,
non alit officio corpus inane suo:'

he tells us that his complexion was naturally good; P. i. 10. 25,—

'vix igitur possis visos adgnosceret vultus,
quoque ierit, quaeras, qui fuit ante color.'

his habits of life were temperate; P. i. 10. 29,—

'non haec inmodico contraxi damna Lyaeo;
scis, mihi quam solae paene bibantur aquae:
non epulis oneror: quarum si tangar amore,
est tamen in Geticis copia nulla locis:
nec vires adimit Veneris damnosa voluptas.'

His disposition, according to M. Seneca, was refined, elegant,

v. 10. 49:

'merui tamen urbe carere,
non merui tali forsitan esse loco.'

See Boissier, p. 158.

¹ P. iii. 2. 40.

² P. iv. 9. 97 ff.; 14. 55 ff.

³ Hieronym. chron. a. Abr. 2033, 'Ovidius poeta in exilio diem obiit et iuxta oppidum Tomos sepelitur.'

and loveable¹; and the impression gathered from his writings is that of a gay, careless, kindly, open-hearted man, in whom there was little of evil, if little depth of moral character.

II.

THE WORKS OF OVID.

THE writings of Ovid fall naturally into three divisions: (1) those of his youth; (2) those of middle life; (3) those of his latter years; and the style and subject-matter of the poems of the three periods are totally distinct.

1. The first division comprises the amatory poems, in which style of composition Ovid was unrivalled among his countrymen.

i. *Amorum Libri III.*—Forty-nine pieces, celebrating the amours of the poet and his mistress Corinna. There were originally five books, which were published about 740/14; they were afterwards reduced to the recension of three, which we possess, and which was published before 752-3/2-1, the date of the publication of the *Ars Amatoria*.

ii. *Heroides.*—A collection of twenty-one letters in elegiac verse, purporting to have been written by ladies of heroic renown to their absent lovers. Of these the first fourteen alone are of undoubted authenticity, though it is probable that some at least of the rest were written by Ovid at a later period of his life than the original collection².

iii. *Medicamina formae*: an extant fragment of 100 lines on

¹ 'Habebat ille comptum et decens et amabile ingenium.'—Senec. Controv., ii. 10. 8.

² See W. Zingerle, *Untersuchungen zur Echtheitsfrage der Heroiden Ovid's*, Innsbruck, 1878. The genuineness of the *Epistula Sapphus* has been vindicated by Professor Comparetti; and has been maintained recently by Baehrens in the *Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica* for 1884.

the use of cosmetics. It was written apparently before the appearance of the *Ars Amatoria*. (See A. A. iii. 205 ff.)

iv. *Artis Amatoriae Libri III.*—This, the most profligate of Ovid's works, contains two books of rules for men as to how to gain the affections of women, and one book for women as to how to gain those of men. It was probably published 752-1/2-3.

v. *Remedia Amoris.*—One book: this was intended as a kind of recantation of his *Ars Amatoria*, and treats of the means of escaping from love. It was written in 754-5/1-2.

2. The works of the poet's maturity are characterised by greater seriousness of subject-matter. They are:—

vi. *Metamorphoseon Libri XV.* A collection, rather loosely strung together, in heroic hexameter verse, of those fables of antiquity, which involved a transformation of shape, from the creation of the world out of chaos to the transmutation of Julius Caesar into a star. The poem had not received its writer's last polish when he was exiled; and in his disgust he burnt it. But copies had fortunately been preserved by some friends, one of whom published it for him shortly after his banishment.

vii. *Fastorum Libri VI.*—A poem in elegiac verse, describing the ceremonies and legends connected with the Roman Calendar. The work, which was originally intended to be in twelve books breaks off at book VI. ending with June. Its composition was interrupted by the writer's banishment in 762/9. A first issue of book I, dedicated to Augustus, seems to have appeared (T. ii. 549 ff.); and after the death of Augustus 767/14, a revised version of book I, and books II-VI. were published, inscribed to the accomplished young prince Germanicus Caesar.

3. Poems of the period of exile.

viii. *Tristium Libri V.*—A collection of elegies, couched in the form of letters, chiefly consisting of lamentations upon his exile. The poems appear to stand mainly in the order in which they were written, excepting the first and last elegies of each book, which were written last, as the prologue and epilogue of the book. (This does not apply to Book II, which is a continuous essay.) Each book, as completed, seems to have been sent

collectively to Rome¹. Of these, Book I. was written in the course of the journey, but finished off at Tomi and despatched to Rome from thence. The book was sent to Rome, and published in the course of 763/10, under the editorship of some friend unknown to us².

Book II. A long vindication of himself and his *Ars Amatoria*, addressed to Augustus, was written in the same year.

Book III. followed immediately, and was published in the following year.

Book IV. must have been written between the springs of 764/11 and 765/12.

Book V. between the springs of 765/12 and 766/13³.

ix. *Ibis.*—Published not before 762/9, for in that year, March 20th (T. iv. 10. 13-14), was the poet's fiftieth birthday; and in *Ibis* 1. he says that he was already fifty years old when he wrote it. This poem is an invective in 644 elegiac lines, written in imitation of a poem of similar name by the Alexandrine Callimachus, in which he assailed his rival Apollonius Rhodius. It is directed against the unknown enemy, called by the poet *Ibis*—attacked also in T. iii. 11, iv. 9, v. 8, P. iv. 3—whom Ovid accuses of having procured his disfavour with the Emperor by introducing the *Ars Amatoria* to his notice (T. ii. 77), of having openly defamed him in his absence (T. iii. 11. 20; *Ibis* 14), of having attempted to prevent his receiving supplies in his exile (*Ibis* 21), and of having tried to rob him of his property (T. i. 6. 8; *Ibis* 17), a design which was frustrated by the poet's wife (T. i. 6. 13; *Ibis* 15).

T. iv. 9 looks as if it were an announcement of the near publication of the *Ibis*.

Who was this enemy whose name Ovid so persistently con-

¹ Schulz, Q. O. pp. 1-7.

² The ingenious hypothesis that this friend was C. Julius Hyginus, the celebrated librarian of the Palatine Library, and author of the four books of astronomy, and the 277 fables which have come down to us in an abridged form under his name, and that T. i. 7; iii. 14; iv. 7; and v. 6, are addressed to him, has been shown by Graeber, ii. pp. 13-14, to rest on too weak a foundation for us to accept it as proved.

³ In these dates I follow Wartenberg.

ceals has been a subject of controversy; and Mr. Ellis does not venture to decide. After proving that he could not have been Corvinus, or M. Manilius (the author of the *Astronomica*), or C. Iulius Hyginus, though the last supposition has much to recommend it, he shows that he must have been some professional speaker or *delator*, and suggests as alternatives the T. Labienus described by Seneca, *Controv.* 10 praef. 4, or the famous astrologer Thrasyllus, the intimate of Tiberius.

x. *Ex Ponto Epistularum Libri IV.*—A collection of letters to different persons at Rome, which, like the *Tristia*, consist of lamentations over his miseries and supplications to those addressed to use every means to procure his recall. The poems of the first three books appear to have been written at different times, some perhaps as early as the beginning of his exile (Wartenberg, p. 88); and the whole three books were, unlike the *Tristia*, collected 'sine ordine' (P. iii. 9. 53), and sent to Rome to Brutus, to be published by him about the beginning of 766/13. (See P. iii. 9. 51–54.) Book IV, which contains 930 lines, about 200 above the usual average of Ovid's books, and which, unlike the other books, has no dedicatory exordium, consists probably of scattered poems left by Ovid when he was surprised by death, and which were intended by him to form part of two books; so that the number of books of the Pontic Epistles might correspond with those of the *Tristia*. These poems were collected and published by some friend after his death¹.

xi. *Halieuticon Liber.*—A didactic fragment of 132 lines on the natural history of the fishes of the Black Sea, begun by the poet shortly before his death².

Besides these extant works there were others which have perished: a tragedy, *Medea*; an elegy on the death of M.

¹ See Schulz, pp. 27 ff. Others suppose that Book IV is a posthumous collection made by some friend of all the unpublished letters of the poet, which had been preserved by those who had received them (Wartenberg, p. 113).

² 'Id volumen supremis suis temporibus incohavit.'—Plin. H. N. 32 152.

Valerius Messalla (P. i. 7. 27 ff.); an epithalamium on the marriage of Paullus Fabius Maximus (P. i. 2. 133); a poem on the Pannonian triumph of Tiberius (P. iii. 4; cp. ii. 5. 27); one in the Getic language, in praise of the deified Augustus, his successor Tiberius, and the Imperial House generally (P. iv. 13. 19 ff.); another in honour of Augustus (P. iv. 6. 17 ff.); and a book of epigrams against the bad poets of the day (Quintil. vi. 3. 96).

III.

THE FRIENDS AND PATRONS OF OVID ADDRESSED IN THE TRISTIA AND PONTIC EPISTLES.

As the poet himself remarks, the subject-matter of the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* is identical¹; both are concerned mainly with laments over the miseries of his exile, and supplications to his friends at home to do all in their power to procure his recall, or at any rate that a less remote and dreary place of exile may be granted to him. The sole difference is that, in the *Tristia* the names of the persons addressed are suppressed, while in the *Pontic Epistles* they are openly given². As the first book of the *Pontic Epistles* followed so closely on the last of the *Tristia*—both were finished in the course of 765/12—it is natural to enquire (1) why the names of the friends, so long suppressed,

¹ P. iii. 9. 1:

'quod sit in his eadem sententia, Brute, libellis,
carmina nescio quem carpere. nostra refers:
nil nisi me terra fruar ut propiore rogare,
et quam sim denso cinctus ab hoste, loqui.'

² P. i. 1. 15 ff.:

'invenies, quamvis non est miserabilis index,
non minus hoc illo triste, quod ante dedi:
rebus idem, titulo differt; et epistula cui sit
non occultato nomine missa docet.'

were so suddenly disclosed; and (2) whether it is possible to identify any of the persons addressed in the *Tristia*.

It is not difficult to answer the first of these questions. It would not have been safe for Ovid, at the beginning of his exile, to address by name his friends at Rome. Such an open confession of connexion with the disgraced poet would have been likely to draw down upon them the anger of the Emperor. That this was the fear of the persons concerned appears from many passages in the *Tristia*¹; and even later there was still one friend who declined to allow his name to appear, to whom *P.* iii. 6 is written. But the year 765/12 was the fourth of the poet's exile, and by this time the anger of Augustus had begun to abate, and he was contemplating the pardon of the offender, when he was overtaken by death². Thus we may suppose that on the completion of the *Tristia* the poet saw that he need no longer fear to prejudice his friends by revealing their names; and accordingly laid aside all disguise in his new work, the *Pontic Epistles*.

That the persons addressed in the two collections of letters are substantially the same there can be little doubt, both from close internal resemblances, and from the inherent probability that the same nearer circle of his friends and patrons would naturally be appealed to by the poet in each case. Consequently great ingenuity has been expended upon identifying these persons; and though much of the results of these attempts can only be regarded as 'bold voyages into the sea of conjecture,' much has yet been established with tolerable certainty.

The collection of the *Tristia* divides itself naturally into two classes of letters, those to the poet's nearer friends and patrons, and those of which his wife, the Emperor, the friendly reader, or his inveterate personal enemy, is the subject. Of the fifty letters of the *Tristia* seventeen belong to the former class, thirty-two to the latter. Midway between the two stands the solitary poem,

¹ See i. 5. 7; iii. 4. 64; iv. 4. 7; v. 9. 1 ff.

² *P.* iv. 6. 15:

'coeperat Augustus deceptae ignoscere culpae:
spem nostram terras deseruitque simul.'

iii. 7, addressed, unlike the rest, by name, to the young poetess Perilla, over whose studies Ovid claims to exercise a fatherly supervision¹.

Class I. Poems not addressed to friends and patrons. By far the larger number of the elegies which fall under this head are inscribed to the friendly reader; these are i. 2, i. 3, i. 4, i. 10, i. 11; iii. 1, iii. 2, iii. 9, iii. 10, iii. 12, iii. 13; iv. 1, iv. 2, iv. 6, iv. 8, iv. 10; v. 1, v. 10. The prologue of Book i, i. 1, is addressed to the book itself. Three poems are to the Emperor, iii. 8, v. 2, 45-78², and Book ii. This last is one continuous essay in justification of the *Ars Amatoria*, in which Ovid shows with much cleverness, that if he had erred in treating delicate subjects, he had only followed the example of many of his predecessors, writers of established reputation both of Greece and Rome. To his wife there are six letters; i. 6; iii. 3; iv. 3; v. 2, 1-44; v. 11, and v. 14; and besides these v. 5 celebrates her birthday. One letter, v. 3, appeals in general terms to his poet friends. Lastly, three poems, iii. 11, iv. 9, v. 8, are directed against his relentless enemy, the subject of the *Ibis*.

Class II. Letters addressed expressly to friends and patrons. A careful study of the *Tristia* and *Pontic Epistles* shows that a sharp division must be drawn between those acquaintances of the poet who were his superiors in station, and those who were his equals, between his patrons and his friends, between his *fautores* and his *sodales*. And it is the want of discriminating with sufficient exactness between these two classes that has led to many random and false identifications. There is a marked difference in tone between the language with which Ovid approaches his patrons, who had held the highest offices and belonged to the highest nobility of Rome, whose 'majestic names'³ fill him with awe, from that with which he speaks to his

¹ Perilla was not, as some have supposed (see above, p. xvii), the poet's daughter, for she is described as young and living still under her mother's roof, ll. 3 and 33 ff.; whereas at the time of his exile, Ovid's daughter was already married to her second husband.

² See Graeber, ii. 7.

³ 'nomina magna,' *T.* iii. 4. 4.

friends, whether his poet comrades, or the associates of his pleasures in happier days. He writes to patrons in a vein of humble supplication, praying them to use their influence with the Emperor to procure the commutation of his sentence; but to equals in the language of ordinary affectionate familiarity. By the help of the knowledge acquired from the Pontic Epistles we can discriminate clearly what individuals constitute these two categories.

(i) **The patrons—social superiors of Ovid.** Of these there are seven in all, amongst whom as foremost and oldest must be reckoned (1) **M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus**; though none of the *Tristia* and Pontic Epistles is addressed to him. Messalla, a contemporary of Horace and the younger Cicero, was born about 689/65. In the civil wars he joined Brutus and Cassius, and was *legatus* to Cassius at the battle of Philippi, after which he followed the fortunes of Antony, until, disgusted with his conduct in Egypt, he joined Octavian, by whom he was made consul 723/31, and commanded the centre of the fleet at the battle of Actium. Three years after he quelled a rebellion in Aquitania; and was then sent to the east to establish peace in Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt. In 726/28 he returned; and celebrated a triumph over the Aquitani, Sept. 25, 727/27¹. He was the first 'praefectus urbis'²; but held that office for a few days only. In 752/2 he proposed in the senate that Augustus should have the title of 'pater patriae.' After ceasing to be 'praefectus urbis' he abandoned politics, and devoted himself to the bar, where he became the principal advocate of his day, and received the appellation of the Orator. Like Maecenas, he was a liberal patron of learning; and his house was open to the poets Tibullus and Ovid amongst many others. Ovid speaks of him with the greatest veneration³ as 'primo mihi cultus ab aevo'⁴; and testifies to the encouragement that Messalla gave him in the pursuit

¹ Graeber, i. xvi; Dissen's Tibullus, pp. xvii-xx.

² Tac. A. vi. 11.

³ Writing to the son of Messalla, he describes himself as 'ille domus vestrae primis venerator ab annis.' P. ii. 2. 1.

⁴ P. ii. 2. 99.

of poetry¹. Messalla died at the advanced age of seventy-two, a few months before the poet's banishment, leaving two sons, M. Valerius Corvinus Messalla or Messallinus, and M. Aurelius Cotta Messallinus.

(2) The elder of these, **M. Valerius Corvinus Messalla** or **Messallinus**, was one of the most powerful of the adherents of Tiberius. Born at some time before 719/35, and after 715/39, he was consul in 751/3, and 'legatus Augusti pro praetore' of Dalmatia and Pannonia in 759/6. In the summer of that year he led his forces into Germany to assist Tiberius, and shortly afterwards, on the outbreak of the insurrection in Dalmatia and Pannonia of the two Batos, served with great distinction and bravery in that war²; and in recognition was granted the 'triumphalia ornamenta' at the triumph celebrated by Tiberius³. As a politician his career was less honourable; his servility and base adulation of Tiberius are gravely censured by Tacitus⁴. In 767/14, at the first meeting of the senate under Tiberius, he moved that the oath of allegiance to the Emperor should in future be taken every year, instead of every ten years. In 773/20 he proposed, on the condemnation of Piso, the erection of a commemorative golden statue, and that the imperial family should receive the congratulations of the state: in 774/21 he opposed the proposal of Caecina Severus that no governor of a senatorial province should be accompanied by his wife. A summary of his speech on that occasion is given by Tacitus, who, like Ovid, praises him as inheriting the eloquence of his father Messalla⁵. Tibullus (ii. 5) commemorates the occasion of his election into the college of 'quindecimviri sacris faciundis,' who had charge of the Sibyl-

¹ P. i. 7. 28, 'hortator studii causaque faxque mei.' Cp. P. ii. 3. 75 (speaking of Messalla to his son Cotta Maximus):

'me tuus ille pater, Latiae facundia linguae,
quae non inferior nobilitate fuit,
primus ut auderem committere carmina famae
impulit. ingenii dux fuit ille mei.'

² Dio, lv. 30; Vellei. ii. 112.

³ Suet. Tib. 20. Ovid alludes to this in P. ii. 2. 85 ff.

⁴ A. i. 8. 5; iii. 18. 3.

⁵ Tac. A. iii. 34. 1; Ovid, P. ii. 2. 51 ff.; cp. T. iv. 4. 5.

line books. The estimate of his character in Velleius is more favourable than that of Tacitus: 'animo etiam quam gente nobilior, dignissimus qui et patrem Corvinum habuisset et cognomen suum Cottae fratri relinqueret'.¹ His son, M. Valerius Messallinus, was consul in 773/20.

Two of the Pontic Epistles are addressed to Messallinus, i. 7, and ii. 2, in both of which Ovid speaks with distant respect to the patron², of whom he had seen little personally³, and who he fears may disown any connection with one that had offended the Imperial House⁴, of which he is a devoted adherent⁵. The patronage of the father Messalla and friendship of the brother Cotta embolden the poet to ask for help from one whom he would not otherwise have ventured to address⁶.

Of the Tristia, iv. 4 is obviously to Messallinus⁷. There is the same timid tone of distant supplication⁸, towards one who is far above the poet in rank⁹, and with whom he is obviously not on very familiar terms, otherwise he would not have needed to apologise for addressing him by the reminder that they had had personal intercourse¹⁰, and that the father had regarded him with favour¹¹.

(3) With the younger son of Messalla Ovid was on far more intimate terms. Originally named M. Valerius Maximus, he

¹ Vellei. ii. 112.

² P. ii. 2. 1, 'domus vestrae primis venerator ab annis;' cp. P. i. 7. 15 ff.

³ P. i. 7. 55, 'culta quidem, fateor, citra quam debuit, illa (i. e. tua ianua) est.'

⁴ P. i. 7. 17; ii. 2. 5. ⁵ P. ii. 2. 19-22; 43-44. ⁶ P. i. 7. 27 ff.

⁷ Koch, p. 14; Graeber, i. xx. That the poem is to his brother Cotta has been maintained by Borghesi, Œuvr. Num. i. 409, and Lorentz, p. 10.

⁸ l. 8, 'ignoscas laudibus ipse tuis;' cp. l. 21, 49 ff.

⁹ l. 1: 'O qui nominibus cum sis generosus avorum, exsuperas morum nobilitate genus.'

¹⁰ l. 23: 'nec nova, quod tecum loquor, est iniuria nostra, incolumis cum quo saepe locutus eram.'

¹¹ l. 27 ff. That Messallinus is intended is made certain by the assertion (l. 37) that if he knew the whole train of events he would acquit the poet of wilful wrong-doing; for this remark would be pointless if addressed to Cotta, who probably knew all, as Ovid was with him at the time of his sentence.

was adopted by his mother's brother Aurelius Cotta, who was childless, and thus became **M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus**; and finally, on the death of his elder brother, took the 'agnomen' Messallinus, and became **M. Aurelius Cotta Messallinus**; whence Tacitus always speaks of him as Cotta Messallinus¹. He was younger than Ovid², who began to frequent the house of his father Messalla when about twenty years of age³, before the birth of Cotta⁴, who would accordingly seem to have been born about 731/23. He was consul 773/20, together with his nephew, M. Valerius Messallinus⁵. Like his elder brother he was a

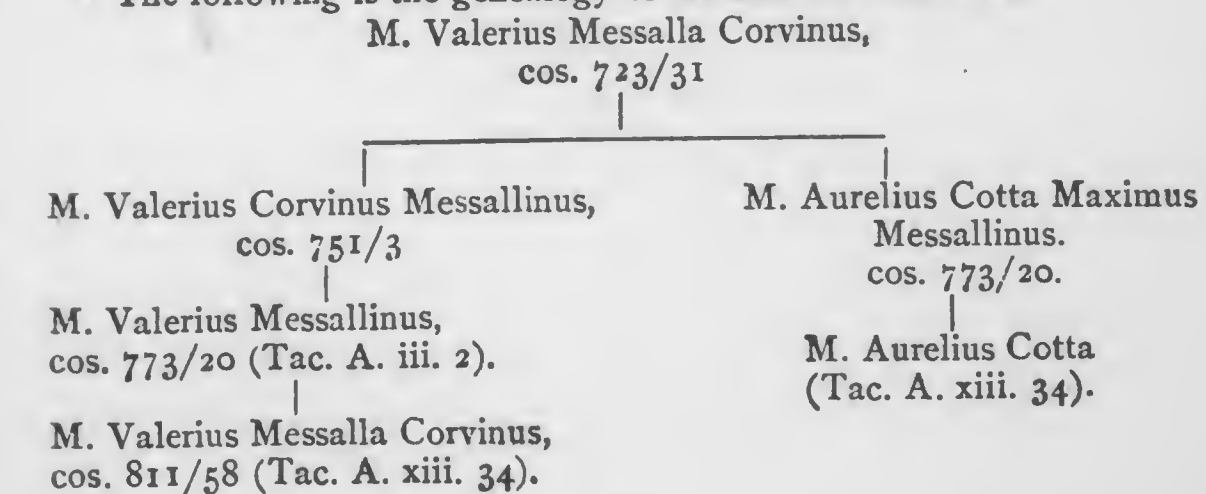
¹ These changes of name give rise to some difficulty in distinguishing whether certain of the Pontic Epistles are to Cotta Messallinus or Fabius Maximus, for the name Maximus is used in addressing both persons. It has, however, been pretty well established that P. i. 2 and iii. 3 are to Fabius Maximus, while P. i. 5, i. 9, ii. 3, ii. 8, iii. 2, iii. 5, are to Cotta. About iii. 8, Graeber, i. p. xi, is in doubt, but Woelffel and Lorentz seem to have shown satisfactorily that it is to Fabius, by noting that the words 'purpura saepe tuos fulgens praetexit amictus' (l. 7) are better suited to Fabius Maximus, who had held many offices, than to Cotta, who at that time had not yet been consul. Schulz, p. 28, conjectures that as none of P. iv. are addressed to Cotta, apparently the most faithful of Ovid's powerful friends, there were letters written to him, which have been lost. Considering that P. iv. consists of scattered poems collected and published after Ovid's death, this suggestion is highly plausible.

² Cp. P. ii. 3. 55, 'iuvenis rarissime;' iii. 5. 7, 'iuvenis patrii non degener oris;' *ibid.* 37, 'iuvenis studiorum plene meorum.'

³ T. iv. 10. 57 ff.; P. ii. 3. 75 ff.

⁴ P. ii. 3. 71.

⁵ The following is the genealogy of the house of Messalla:



strong adherent of Tiberius, with whom he was very intimate¹, and whose large-minded policy of securing just administration for the provinces and curbing the exactions of the senatorial aristocracy he abetted by proposing in 777/24 that provincial governors should be answerable for the misdeeds of their wives even if themselves innocent². In 769/16, on the forced suicide of Libo Drusus, Cotta had moved that his image should not be carried in the family funeral processions; and in 782/29 he was ready prepared with a stringent proposal directed against Agrippina and Nero³. At the time of Ovid's banishment he held some official position in the island of Ilva (Elba); and the poet formed one of his suite (*cohors*).

The estimates formed of his character are conflicting. Tacitus, who is prejudiced against all the partizans of Tiberius, says that he was universally hated as a supporter of every cruel measure, that his character did not correspond to his noble ancestry, and that he was reduced to penury by his luxury, and was rendered infamous by his enormities⁴. Persius speaks of him as 'Messalla's blear-eyed son;' and the scholiast, explaining the expression as alluding to a weakness in the eyelids, which attacked him in old age, adds that he was addicted to many vices⁵.

On the other hand, Ovid, to whom he was a most kind and liberal patron, speaks of him alone of his social superiors with a warmth of personal affection that differs but little from that

¹ Tac. A. vi. 5 relates that when Cotta was charged with 'maiestas,' Tiberius 'repetito inter se atque Cottam amicitiae principio crebrisque eius officii commemoratis, ne verba prave detorta neu convivalium fabularum simplicitas in crimen duceretur postulavit.'

² Tac. A. iv. 20.

³ Tac. A. ii. 32; v. 3.

⁴ Tac. A. vi. 5; iv. 20; vi. 7.

⁵ Pers. ii. 72 and schol. The charge that he was a gourmand rests on the insufficient evidence of Pliny, H. N. x. 22. 57, 'sed quod constat, Messallinus Cotta, Messallae oratoris filius, palmas pedum ex his torrere atque patinis cum gallaceorum cristis condire repperit; tribuetur enim a me culinibus cuiusque palma cum fide.' Pliny only says that Cotta invented this dish.

which he feels towards the most intimate of his equals. Cotta was one of the few who were constant to him in his trouble¹; he was a gentle and high-souled man², the worthy son of a worthy father³. His munificence to literary men is attested by Juvenal⁴, and in an inscription recently discovered on the Appian Way his freedman Zosimus describes in elegiac verse, perhaps with some exaggeration, the liberality of Cotta, who had raised him to the equestrian census⁵.

We may suppose that the poverty of his declining years was, to a large extent at any rate, brought about by his lavish munificence, rather than by the sinister cause assigned by Tacitus.

Cotta, who is mentioned by Ovid among the contemporary poets, composed probably, besides fugitive pieces, a poem on the legend of Pylades and Orestes⁶.

¹ P. ii. 3. 29; iii. 2. 5.

² P. iii. 2. 103:

'adde quod est animus semper tibi mitis, et altae
indicium mores nobilitatis habent.'

³ P. iii. 5. 7.

⁴ Iuv. v. 107: 'quae Piso bonus quae Cotta solebat Largiri.'
vii. 95:

'quis tibi Maecenas, quis nunc erit aut Proculeius,
aut Fabius, quis Cotta iterum, quis Lentulus alter?'

⁵ Graeber, I. xxii (see Henzen. Ann. dell' Inst. 1865, pp. 5-17):

'M. Aurelius Cottae Maximi l. Zosimus accensus patroni.
libertinus eram, fateor, sed facta legetur
patrono Cotta nobilis umbra meo,
qui mihi saepe libens census donavit equestris,
qui iussit natos tollere, quos aleret,
quique suas commisit opes mihi semper et idem
dotavit natus, ut pater, ipse meas,
Cottanumque meum produxit honore tribuni
quem fortis castris Caesaris emeruit.
quid non Cotta dedit, qui nunc et carmina tristis
haec dedit in tumulo conspicienda meo?'

Aurelia. Saturnina. Zosimi.'

⁶ P. iv. 16. 41 ff.; iii. 5. 39; Merkel, prolus. ad Ibin, p. 376;
Hennig, p. 31.

Of the *Tristia*, iv. 5 and v. 9 are to Cotta. In the former Ovid addresses the friend who is chief among his friends, who has not feared to stand by him in his misfortune, and who loves him with a love like that which Castor bore to Pollux; in the latter he speaks in affectionate language to his gentle-natured patron¹.

(4) The person on whose influence with the Emperor the poet mainly relied to ensure his recall was **Paullus Fabius Maximus**, to whom are addressed P. i. 2, iii. 3, and probably iii. 8². He was the son of Quintus Fabius Maximus, who as a young man (in 698/56) was praised by Cicero as the worthy scion of a noble line³, and who distinguished himself in the war against Pompey in Spain, 709/45, and as a reward was made by Caesar Consul Suffectus, and allowed a triumph in that year.

It is conjectured that Fabius, the son, was born about 709/45. He is celebrated when a young man by Horace, as—

‘nobilis et decens
et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis
et centum puer artium⁴.’

Early in life, apparently between the ages of eighteen and

¹ l. 7: ‘te praesens *mitem* nosset, te serior aetas.’

See Graeber, i. p. xxi.

² None of the *Tristia* can be shown to be to him (Graeber, i. p. xi) though iii. 6 is assigned to him by Lorentz, and v. 2 by Koch and Lorentz (Koch, p. 8, Lorentz, pp. 28–30). Of these v. 2. 1–44 is to the poet's wife, as is shown by the words, l. 39:

‘me miserum! quid agam, si proxima quaeque relinquunt?
subtrahis effracto tu quoque colla iugo?’

and the opening of the letter:

‘ecquid, ubi e Ponto nova venit epistula, palles,
et tibi sollicita solvitur illa manu?’

both which passages sound far more natural when addressed to the frightened wife than to anyone else. v. 2. 45 to the end, is a distinct poem addressed to Augustus, the ‘arbiter imperii,’ l. 47. See Graeber, i. p. xi. and ii. p. 7; iii. 6, in which he speaks to a bosom-friend from whom he had no secrets (ll. 9 and 11), must be referred to a *sodalis* of equal station (Celsus), not to the powerful Fabius.—(Graeber, ii. 4.)

³ Cic. in Vatin. xi. 28.

⁴ Hor. c. iv. 1. 13. This ode was composed about 739/15, when Fabius was about thirty years old, when he might still be playfully spoken of

twenty-one, he held some office, otherwise unknown to us, with the title of ‘legatus imperatoris Caesaris’ under Octavian in Hispania Tarraconensis¹. He was praetor probably 739/15, and then proceeded as proconsul to the praetorian province of Cyprus, as is shown by an inscription set up by the inhabitants of Paphos to his wife Marcia². Two inscriptions in his honour have been found at Athens³. He was consul in 743/11, and subsequently, as proconsul of Asia (749/5–750/4), established the observance of the birthday of Augustus throughout the cities of Asia Minor; a decree, conferring a crown upon him on this account, has been discovered at Eumenia in Phrygia⁴. The rest of his life was passed at Rome in the duties of a senator and the practice of the bar. Tacitus relates that shortly before his death Augustus, accompanied by Fabius Maximus, paid a secret visit to his grandson, Agrippa Postumus, at Planasia (now Pianosa), whither he had been banished; that both Augustus and Agrippa were deeply affected by the meeting, which gave rise to hopes that the sentence would be revoked; that this was divulged by Maximus to his wife Marcia, and by her to Livia; and that shortly afterwards Maximus died, as some suspected, by forced suicide⁵. Whatever the historical truth of this story, it establishes two points: firstly, the date of the death of Fabius, which must have been shortly before that of Augustus (who died August 19), probably at some time in May or June in 767/14⁶;

as *puer* by the poet who was twenty years his senior (cp. Cic. ad Fam. x. 7 and x. 28). He could hardly before the age of thirty have been ‘pro sollicitis non tacitus reis.’

¹ C. I. L. ii. 2581. ‘[Imp.] Caesari [Paullus Fabius] Maximus legat. Caesaris.’

² C. I. G. 2629.

³ C. I. A. i. 587 and 588.

⁴ C. I. G. 3902 b. Three coins bearing his head as proconsul of Asia have been discovered, which show how highly he was esteemed by Augustus; since the power of impressing their heads upon coins was granted, as far as we know, to only five provincial governors at this time; Graeber, i. p. xiii.

⁵ Tac. A. i. 5.

⁶ Fabius is last mentioned in the ‘Acta fratrum Arvalium’ (anno 14) as having been present at a meeting ‘pridie Id. Maias’ of that year; Lorentz, p. 26.

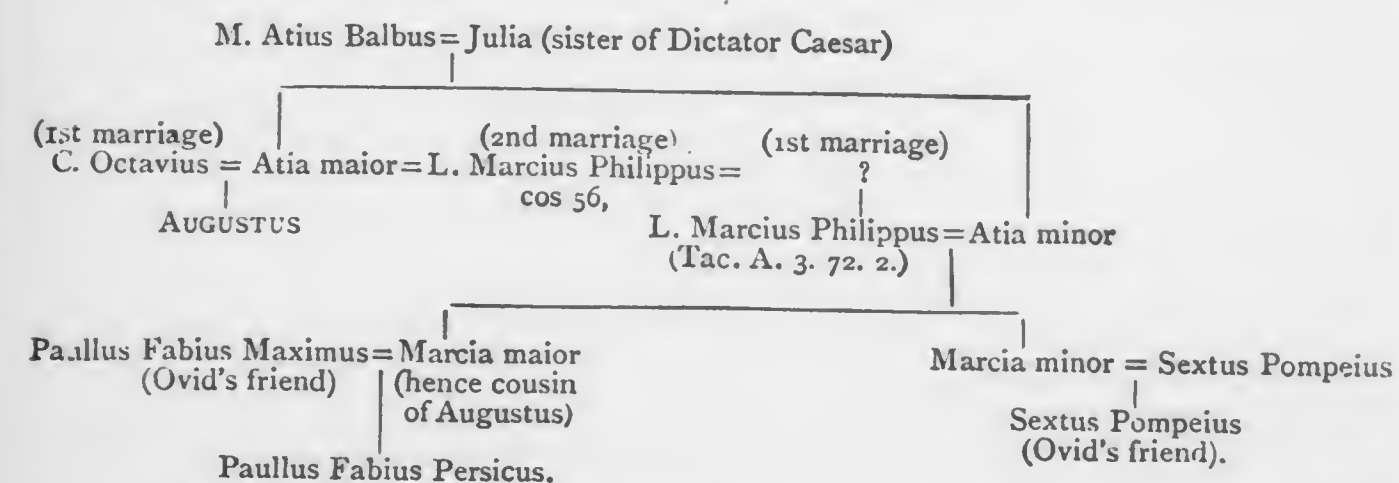
and secondly, his familiarity with Augustus, which is attested also by the rebuke of the emperor to Cn. Cornelius Cinna, when he was discovered to be plotting a revolution, 'Am I the only obstacle to your hopes? Will Paullus and Fabius Maximus and the Cossi and Servilius tolerate you¹?' and by a jest of Fabius recorded at the expense of the emperor's parsimony². This intimacy with the emperor was due, no doubt, partly to his connexion through his wife with the imperial family. Marcia was a cousin of Augustus, for she was daughter of the younger Atia, who was sister of the elder Atia, Augustus' mother³.

The language of Ovid towards Fabius Maximus is that of respectful reverence. He relies on his own connexion with Fabius through his third wife, who belonged to the *gens Fabia*⁴, to procure the intercession on his behalf 'of that sweet tongue that is ever ready to defend the trembling culprit⁵.' He reminds Fabius that he had once formed one of his attendant throng, that he had even been admitted to his table, and had composed

¹ Sen. de Clem. i. 9, § 8, 'Cedo, si spes tuas solus impedio: Paullusne te et [qy. omit *et*] Fabius Maximus et Cossi et Servili ferept?

² Quintil. vi. 3. 52, 'Fabius Maximus, incusans Augusti congiariorum, quae amicis dabantur, exiguitatem, heminaria esse dixit.'

³ See F. vi. 801 ff.; P. i. 2. 139 ff.; Lorentz, p. 24. The following pedigree may be useful:



⁴ P. i. 2. 138, 'ille ego, de vestra cui data nupta domo est.' Cp. intr. to El. vi. p. 69.

⁵ P. i. 2. 117.

an epithalamium on his nuptials¹. The death of Fabius deprived him of his most powerful intercessor².

(5) Two brothers, of the noble *gens Pomponia*, C. Pomponius Graecinus and L. Pomponius Flaccus, must next be considered among the patrons of the poet; though from the four Pontic Epistles addressed to them, three to Craecinus (i. 6, ii. 6, iv. 9), and one to Flaccus (i. 10), Ovid seems to have had little hopes that they would be helpful towards procuring his recall.

Graecinus was a man of culture who had seen some military service³, and is congratulated by Ovid, in P. iv. 9, on his appointment by Tiberius to be Consul Suffectus in 769/16, and on that of his brother Flaccus to be Consul Ordinarius in 770/17. If, as is probable, he is the Graecinus of Am. ii. 10, his intimacy with Ovid was of long duration. He was absent from Rome at the time of the poet's banishment; and though he is always addressed with much warmth, it is clear that he was not one of the most intimate circle of friends, and that Ovid expected little from his intercession; for, though he does occasionally pray for his advocacy, the tone in which they are couched shows that such prayers are inserted rather to flatter Graecinus than because anything was really looked for from him⁴.

Graecinus was co-opted into the college of Arval Brothers, May 30, 774/21, and as he is not mentioned as present at the meeting of November 16, 788/35, he must have died before that date.

(6) His brother, **L. Pomponius Flaccus**, was a little younger than Graecinus and Ovid, and was probably born about 735/19. During the three years that intervened between his praetorship and consulship he held some command in Moesia⁵, and soon after

¹ P. i. 2. 131.

² P. iv. 6. 9. It is not probable, as Merkel conjectures, *prolus. ad Ibin*, p. 392, that the pleading of Fabius on behalf of Ovid had anything to do with causing his sudden death. The words of Ovid,

'occidis ante preces: causamque ego, Maxime, mortis—
nec fuero tanti—me reor esse tuae.'

are merely the language of poetical exaggeration.

³ P. i. 6. 7 ff.

⁴ Koch, p. 11.

⁵ P. iv. 9. 75, 'praefuit his, Graecine, locis modo Flaccus.'

his consulship, in 770/17, was sent back again to administer that province as 'legatus pro praetore,' and to reduce to submission Rhescuporis, king of Thrace, who, after killing his nephew Cotys, had appropriated his dominions. This he successfully effected, for he captured Rhescuporis by enticing him within the Roman camp, and sent him to Rome¹. Subsequently he was appointed 'legatus' of Syria in 785/32, and died there in the following year². Tacitus speaks of Flaccus as an experienced soldier³, and there is no reason why we should mistrust the high praise bestowed by Velleius on his character and ability⁴.

Though not so intimate with the poet as his brother Graecinus, Flaccus seems to have been a good friend to Ovid, and to have done what was in his power to alleviate the discomforts of his exile⁵.

(7) Last of the patrons of Ovid stands **Sextus Pompeius**, the last scion of the house of Pompey the Great. He was most probably the great-grandson of Sextus Pompeius, the elder brother of Cn. Pompeius Strabo, father of Pompey the Great, and through his mother, who was probably a Marcia, younger sister of Marcia, the daughter of L. Marcius Philippus and the younger Atia, the aunt of Augustus, was connected with the Imperial family⁶.

In 761/8, the year of Ovid's banishment, Pompeius held some

¹ Tac. A. ii. 67.

² Tac. A. vi. 27. A Syrian coin of Flaccus, struck shortly before his death, has been discovered. Borghesi, *Cœuvr. Epigr.* iii. 85.

³ 'veterem stipendiis,' A. ii. 66.

⁴ Vellei. ii. 116, 'singulari in eo negotio usus [i. e. Tiberius] opera Flacci Pomponi, consularis viri, nati ad omnia quae recte faciunda sunt, simplicique virtute merentis quam captantis gloriam.' The story that Tiberius spent thirty-six hours in a continuous drinking-bout with Pomponius Flaccus and Lucius Piso, and rewarded Flaccus with the province of Syria, and Piso with the praefecture of the city, for their good companionship (Suet. Tib. 42; Senec. Ep. 83; Plin. H. N. xiv. 22. 145), is probably a mere piece of court gossip intentionally rejected by Tacitus. See Furneaux, Tacitus, p. 24.

⁵ P. i. 10. 37 ff.

⁶ Dio, lvi. 29, *ἐκείνοί* (the consuls of 769/14) *τε γὰρ συγγενεῖς πη τοῦ*

command which enabled him to assist the poet on his journey and to protect his life when in danger from the attacks of barbarians¹, and as a complimentary inscription to a proconsul Sextus Pompeius has been discovered at Athens, it is probable that he was then praetorian proconsul of Achaia, which province was usually assigned to ex-praetors². In 767/14, the year of the death of Augustus, he was consul with Sextus Appuleius throughout the whole year, and these two were the first to take the oath of allegiance to Tiberius³. He afterwards was appointed proconsul of Asia, and seems to have administered that province between 780/27 and 783/30⁴. Of his political life as a consular at Rome we know little; in 773/20 he declined to defend L. Piso, who was accused of murdering Germanicus⁵, and in 774/21 he made a violent attack in the Senate upon M. Lepidus, in the vain attempt to prevent his selection for the proconsulship of Asia⁶. His death probably occurred about 792/39.

In the last years of his life Ovid seems to have centred his hopes of restoration mainly on Pompeius; for, excepting one letter to Graecinus, none other of his patrons are addressed in the fourth book of the Pontic Epistles; while to Pompeius, to whom hitherto he had not written at all⁷, four letters are inscribed, P. iv. 1, 4, 5, 15⁸. In all these his attitude is one of great humility towards the condescending patron who had saved

Αὐγούστου ὄντες ἤρχον. See Graeber, i. xxvii., and pedigree supr. p. xxxviii.

¹ P. iv. 5. 33 ff.; 15. 3 ff.

² C. I. A. iii. 1. n. 592, *ἡ βουλὴ ἣ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ ὁ δῆμος Σέξτον Πομπήιον ἀνθύπατον ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν.*

³ Tac. A. i. 7.

⁴ See Graeber, i. xxviii; Furneaux, *l. c.* p. 96.

⁵ Tac. A. iii. 11.

⁶ Tac. A. iii. 32.

⁷ P. iv. 1. 9.

⁸ Lorentz assigns T. i. 5 and v. 9 to Pompeius; but the latter poem is much better suited to Cotta Messallinus (see above), and the former is, from its tone, manifestly addressed not to a social superior, but to an equal (Celsus), to one who is 'post ullos numquam memorande sodales,' who is 'carissimus,' who belongs to the inner circle of loyal friends (l. 33); and the whole attitude is different from the humility adopted towards Pompeius.

his life¹, and assisted him from his own purse², whose humble servant and chattel he asserts himself to be³, and whom, next to the Caesars, he counts among earth's greatest⁴. It is interesting to notice that the eloquence of Pompeius is extolled both by Ovid and by Valerius Maximus, to whom also he acted as a munificent patron⁵.

Ovid speaks of the great wealth of Pompeius, who, besides a mansion at Rome close to the Forum Augusti, possessed broad estates in Sicily, Macedonia, and Campania; and Seneca cites him as a typical example of a rich man⁶. On the other hand, when in 775/22 the Theatre of Pompey was accidentally destroyed by fire, Tiberius undertook to restore it at his own cost, because, says Tacitus, there was none of the house of Pompey who could bear the expense, though the family was not extinct⁷. The only Pompeius then alive was Sextus. Hence there is a seeming contradiction, which must be reconciled by supposing either that Pompeius, though rich, was not rich enough for so enormous an outlay, which may well have overtasked the resources of any private individual; or that, as this happened before his proconsulate in Asia, he may have vastly increased his wealth by the administration of that province.

One of the Pontic Epistles (ii. 1) is to Germanicus Caesar, to whom also the Fasti is dedicated; and one is to the Thracian prince Cotys, who was murdered by Rhescuporis, and who, according to Ovid, had a cultivated taste for literature (ii. 9).

(ii) It has been possible to identify from external sources those powerful friends of Ovid who belonged to the great families of Rome. On the other hand, as we should naturally expect, our knowledge of the acquaintances of the poet, who belonged to his own station, is confined almost entirely to what we learn from his works. These friends are divisible into two categories; a distribution suggested by the poet himself. We must distinguish

¹ P. iv. 5. 31.

² P. iv. 1. 24.

³ iv. 5. 40, 'iurat Se fore mancipii tempus in omne tui,' cp. iv. 15. 19 and 22.

⁴ iv. 15. 4.

⁵ P. iv. 4. 37; Val. Max. ii. 6. 8.

⁶ P. iv. 15. 15 ff.; Sen. de Tranq. An. xi. § 11. ⁷ Tac. A. iii. 72.

from the general body that small circle of nearer friends who stood by him in his disgrace, who were present on the sad night of his final departure from Rome, and who, by their consolations and material assistance, did their best to alleviate the miseries of his exile¹. Only four can be included in this number—Celsus, Brutus, Atticus, and Carus.

Of these (1) **Celsus**, like Ovid himself, enjoyed the patronage and friendship of Cotta Messallinus². His death is lamented in an affecting poem (P. i. 9), in which his integrity and lofty character are extolled. He was one of the few who remained faithful to the poet when most of his friends fled away at the time of his disgrace; he restrained the frantic exile from laying violent hands upon himself; and such was his affection that he even offered to undertake the long journey to Pontus to visit his friend. It is possible that this Celsus is the Albinovanus Celsus of Horace, Epp. i. 8, who is mentioned in Epp. i. 3. 15 as one of the suite that accompanied Tiberius on his expedition into Armenia, and he seems to have been a minor poet³.

i. 5 and iii. 6 of the *Tristia* are to be assigned to Celsus⁴.

(2) That **Atticus** belonged to the little group of faithful friends is shown by P. ii. 7. 81 ff. He was a *sodalis*, on a social equality with the poet, and their intimacy had been very close;

¹ This narrower inner circle of friends is constantly mentioned as the '*vix duo tresve amici*.' The chief passages are T. i. 3. 15:

'adloquor extremum maestos abiturus amicos,
qui modo de multis unus et alter erant.'

T. i. 5. 33:

'*vix duo tresve* mihi de tot superestis amici:
cetera Fortunae, non mea turba fuit.
quo magis, o pauci, rebus succurrite laesis.'

T. iii. 5. 10:

'idque recens praestas nec longo cognitus usu,
quod veterum misero *vix duo tresve* mihi.'

T. v. 4. 35:

'te sibi cum paucis meminit mansisse fidelem,
si paucos aliquis *tresve duosve* vocat.'

See also P. i. 9. 15; ii. 3. 29.

² P. i. 9. 35.

³ Hennig, p. 15.

⁴ Graeber, i. xxi; ii. 4.

in forum or colonnade or street or theatre they were always seen together¹. About his personality nothing further is known; for the conjectures which find in him the *equus illustris* Curtius Atticus of Tacitus, who formed one of the retinue of Tiberius in his latter days², or the grammarian Dionysius of Pergamon, who was made a Roman citizen by Agrippa, with the name of M. Vipsanius Atticus, do not correspond with the description of Ovid, who speaks of him as a bosom friend of equal station, not as a social superior or a professional grammarian³.

Am. i. 9, P. ii. 4 and ii. 7 are addressed to this Atticus; and T. v. 4 may with certainty be assigned to him⁴.

(3) **Brutus** also must be counted in the number of the two or three faithful friends⁵. He is spoken of as one whose affection was intensified when adversity befel the poet⁶. About his personality too we are perfectly in the dark; the language of Ovid, who addresses no requests to him for intercession on his behalf, shows that the two were of equal station, and that Brutus did not occupy any prominent position, either social or political, though he held some minor judicial post, probably as Ovid himself had done, in the centumviral court⁷. He acted as editor of P. i-iii, which he had the courage to publish, without waiting or hesitating during the life of Augustus; and his literary taste is further attested by recommendation to his care of the poem which Ovid had made about Augustus.

P. i. i. and iii. 9 are inscribed to Brutus in his capacity of editor, but in them his personality is kept entirely in the background; he is the vehicle through which the whole body of readers is addressed. Thus, for our knowledge of him we are thrown entirely on P. iv. 6, where his kindly heart, his sympathetic

¹ P. ii. 4. 19.

² Tac. A. ii. 58.

³ The former theory, that of Lorentz, p. 31, and the latter, that of Unger, are refuted by Graeber, ii. 4.

⁴ Graeber, ii. 12; Lorentz, p. 33. Lorentz also assigns iv. 7, v. 6, and v. 13 to Atticus upon very insufficient grounds.

⁵ P. iv. 6. 41 and 49.

⁶ P. iv. 6. 21 ff.

⁷ P. iv. 6. 33.

nature, and loyal friendship are highly recommended. Of the *Tristia* i. 7 and iii. 4 are to be assigned to Brutus¹.

(4) The fourth and last member of this little circle of faithful friends is **Carus**, who in P. iv. 13, the only letter to him of the Pontic Epistles, is described as a dear and trusty companion. Carus was himself a literary man, and wrote a poem on the achievements of Hercules², which Ovid considered very finished in style. He was appointed tutor to the children of Germanicus³, and is implored by the poet to use what influence he may have on his behalf⁴. It is not stated directly in P. iv. 13 that Carus belonged to the small number of faithful friends, but this is clearly established by T. iii. 5 (see especially l. 7 ff.), which, since the time of Heinsius, has been generally admitted to be to Carus, as is proved by the allusion in it (l. 42) to his poem about Hercules⁵.

These are all that can be definitely referred to the narrower group of friends, but there are many others addressed in the Pontic Epistles with whom the poet enjoyed considerable familiarity.

(5) Among these **Macer** stands out prominently, his poet friend, the old companion of his student travels in Asia Minor, Sicily, and Greece; with whom, over and above the common ties of friendship, he was connected in some way through his wife⁶. It is not unlikely that the wife of Macer was sister to the third wife of Ovid; and Macer would accordingly have enjoyed, like Ovid, the patronage of Fabius Maximus, and thus may have come under the notice of the Emperor, and may well be the Pompeius Macer who was appointed curator of the public

¹ See intr. to El. vii. p. 65. Both Schulz, p. 8, and Graeber, ii. 12, assign iii. 4 to Brutus; iii. 14 is also given to him by Lorentz, p. 42, and Wartenberg, p. 63 (who also gives v. 7 to him), but the evidence is very uncertain: see Graeber, ii. 8.

² P. iv. 13. 11, 16. 7; Hennig, p. 26.

³ P. iv. 13. 47.

⁴ P. iv. 13. 50.

⁵ Graeber, ii. 11. Though Graeber argues against it I am convinced with Lorentz, p. 47, and Hennig, p. 26, that i. 9 is also to Carus; but Lorentz is wrong (p. 46) in assigning to him iii. 4, which is better given to Brutus.

⁶ See intr. to El. viii. p. 69.

libraries¹. He wrote an epic poem dealing with the story of the Trojan war prior to the point at which it is taken up in Iliad i².

Macer is addressed in Am. ii. 18 and P. ii. 10, and he appears to be the faithless friend of i. 8, who was linked to the poet by long familiarity, by potent ties, and by companionship in travel. Macer was one of those who did not come to bid farewell on the night of the departure from Rome, and apparently had not yet written to his unfortunate friend at Tomi, when P. ii. 10 was composed; and we may well suppose that in the bitterness and first excitement of his exile Ovid may have judged his defaulting friend with such severity as is expressed in i. 8³.

Of the remaining friends addressed by name in the Pontic Epistles there is none to whom we can with certainty ascribe any of the *Tristia*.

(6) **Albinovanus Pedo**—who must be distinguished from Albinovanus Celsus—was also a poet of some pretensions, who is described by Ovid as soaring in style⁴, by Martial as accomplished⁵, and by the philosopher Seneca, who knew him personally, as a witty talker⁶. He was one of the officers of Germanicus in Germany, and was with him in the disastrous storm which overtook his fleet on the ocean when returning at the end of the campaign of 769/16⁷. This calamity he described in a fragment of twenty-three hexameter lines preserved by M. Seneca, which formed part of a longer poem on the achievements of Germanicus⁸. Consequently he was one of those who glorified in verse the nation's imperial grandeur; but he did not confine himself to domestic subjects, for he wrote besides a heroic poem in the Greek manner upon the legend of Theseus and Pirithous⁹. Moreover, from references in Martial and

¹ Suet. Caes. 56.

² Hennig, pp. 22-23. That he also wrote a conclusion to the Iliad, as has been supposed by some critics, is shown by Hennig to be highly improbable. See Teuffel, R. L. 247. 3.

³ Merkel on i. 8. 33; Graeber, ii. 9.

⁴ 'sidereus,' P. iv. 16. 6.

⁵ 'doctus,' Mart. ii. 77. 5.

⁶ Sen. Ep. 122. 15. Cp. M. Sen. Controv. ii. 10. ⁷ Tac. A. i. 60; ii. 23.

⁸ Sen. Suas. i. 14. The fragment is given in Furneaux' Tacitus, p. 352.

⁹ P. iv. 10. 71.

Quintilian he appears to have composed epigrams¹. P. iv. 10, which is addressed to Albinovanus, is written in a cool tone, and leaves the impression that his friendship was not of a very intimate character.

(7) To **Gallio** we have one epistle (P. iv. 11) which is warmer in expression. The poet with exquisite delicacy and feeling offers consolation to his friend on the loss of his wife. From the first line it appears that he had not hitherto written to Gallio.

(8) Amongst those who were absent on the night of the departure from Rome must also be counted **Rufinus**, to whom two of the Pontic Epistles (i. 3 and iii. 4) are inscribed. In the first of these Ovid tenders his thanks for a letter of sympathy. We gather that Rufinus was a man of somewhat austere nature, who had offered to the poet the cold comforts of philosophy, and of the consideration that many others in legend and history, whose cases he had cited, had suffered before him. And he seems to have rebuked him for effeminacy in giving vent too freely to his grief. To this Ovid hints in reply that he gets very little assistance for such consolations. In iii. 4 the writer's poem on the Triumph of Tiberius of Jan. 16, 766/13, is commended to Rufinus².

(9) **Salanus** is addressed in P. ii. 5 as one who, though there had been little intercourse between them, had expressed great pain at the poet's exile, and had shown a kindly appreciation of his poetry, which, as he was a man of literary culture³ and an accomplished speaker⁴, was highly gratifying. He was, moreover, a man of good position and intimate with Germanicus⁵.

(10) To the poet **Cornelius Severus**, who is affectionately apostrophised as 'iocunde sodalis'⁶, are addressed P. i. 8 and iv. 2. He wrote an epic on a national theme, which, from the scanty references to it that we possess, seems to have celebrated in verse the story of the civil wars from the first intervention of

¹ Mart. prooem. ad i.; ii. 77; v. 5; Quintil. vi. 3. 61.

² Koch, p. 9; Graeber, ii. 10.

³ 'doctissimus,' P. ii. 5. 15.

⁴ *Ibid.* 40.

⁵ We know too little of Salanus and his relations with Ovid to admit as proved the theory of Schulz, p. 4, that T. i. 9 is addressed to him.

⁶ P. i. 8. 25.

Octavian to the final defeat of Antony. Of this poem, the description of an eruption of Aetna, mentioned by L. Seneca¹; the celebrated fragment on the death of Cicero, preserved by M. Seneca²; and the account of the Sicilian war between Octavian and Sextus Pompeius referred to by Quintilian³, all appear to have formed episodes⁴.

(11) To **Tuticanus** two letters (P. iv. 12 and 14) are inscribed, in which he is mentioned as a contemporary friend of Ovid⁵ who had always given him the benefit of his friendly criticism and encouragement⁶, but from whom, as his equal, he did not look for much help in his trouble, and who cannot have been one of the few faithful friends, as must be inferred from Ovid's silence on this point⁷. Tuticanus also was a minor poet, who either translated or, as is more probable, freely adopted the Odyssey, whether the whole of it or only the part which narrates the stay of Ulysses in Phaeacia—as the language of Ovid would rather appear to indicate—is uncertain⁸.

(12) Of **Vestalis**, the friend to whom P. iv. 7 is addressed, we know little. He was a soldier who held a commission in Moesia, near Tomi, and was probably engaged against Rhescu-

¹ Ep. 79. 5. Some writers have from this wrongly supposed Severus to have been the author of the Aetna. See Munro's Aetna, pp. 32-33.

² Suas. vi. 26.

³ x. i. 89.

⁴ Certain discrepancies between P. i. 8 and iv. 2, which are not so serious as to be conclusive, have induced Hennig, p. 6 ff., and Schulz, p. 31 ff., to propound and support with much ingenuity a theory that there were two Severi; but I agree with Graeber, ii. 10, in considering that the evidence is too slight to warrant our embracing this as proved.

⁵ P. iv. 12. 20:

'paene mihi puero cognite paene puer.'

⁶ *Ibid.* 23-30.

⁷ Graeber, ii. 10.

⁸ P. iv. 12. 27:

'dignam Maeoniis Phaeacida condere cartis
cum te Pierides perdocuere tuae.'

His poem is mentioned again in 16. 27, 'et qui Maeoniafm Phaeacida vertit;' though there his name is avoided on account of the difficulty of adjusting its trochaic measure (Tuticānus) to the dactylic metre, a difficulty which is alleged playfully by the poet in P. iv. 12. 1 ff. as a reason why he had not written to his friend before.

poris¹. He was the grandson of Donnus², and son of M. Iulius Cotta³, and cannot be reckoned among the poet's more intimate friends.

Such forms the complete list of the friends known to have been addressed by Ovid in the poems of his exile. To them must be added the one anxious *sodalis*, who certainly had not the courage to show himself faithful at the time of the poet's banishment, since his timidity had impelled him to ask that his name should be concealed even in the Pontic Epistles⁴.

IV.

ON THE CAUSE OF OVID'S BANISHMENT.

TWO causes are assigned by Ovid for his banishment. The first was the immoral tendency of his *Ars Amatoria*; which was expelled by the Emperor from the public libraries. The licence of the civil wars had given a severe shock to morality: peace had been restored to the world by the victory of Augustus: but the universal weariness of warfare, the passing away of the old order, and the want of a field for free political activity, had contributed to centre men's interests mainly in material luxury and ease. The ancestral virtues of temperance and sobriety had given place to profligacy; and the patriotism and public spirit which had led the old Roman to put the good of the state before all other considerations existed no longer, but had given place to a growing disinclination for political or military services. This feeling finds expression in Ovid, who was essentially the creature of his age, T. iii. 4. 25:

'crede mihi, bene qui latuit, bene vixit, et intra
fortunam debet quisque manere suam.'

Augustus saw that such prevalent indifference was destined

¹ Schulz, p. 36 ff., conjectures with much probability that he was the centurion sent by Tiberius to the quarrelling Thracian kings, Rhescuporis and his nephew Cotys, to prevent them from making war on one another. Tac. A. ii. 64. See Graeber, ii. 10.

² P. iv. 7. 29, 'progenies alti fortissima Donni.'

³ Orelli, 626. C. I. L. 7231.

⁴ P. iii. 6.

to prove the ruin of the empire: and the remedy which he adopted was to attempt to restore the ancient simplicity of manners and religious faith. To this end was directed his legislation for the encouragement of marriage¹; the fruitlessness of which was bitterly brought home to him by the discovery of the profligacy of his daughter, the elder Julia, who was exiled in consequence to the island of Pandataria in 752/2. By a remarkable coincidence the *Ars Amatoria* was published in this very year; and its instantaneous success might well have seemed an additional outrage to the father's feelings, and a public danger in the sovereign's eyes. The publication of the book was hardly sufficient ground for punishing its author; but Augustus seems never to have forgotten it. The poet was henceforward a marked man; and the Emperor only awaited a suitable opportunity for avenging the affront that had been put upon him. This was no doubt the original, and probably the principal reason, of the Emperor's anger against Ovid. But the second cause which led immediately to his banishment is involved in obscurity. The poet himself persistently refrains from disclosing it; and numerous attempts have been made to explain the riddle.

But though he does not openly name his offence, Ovid lets fall several hints as to its nature. And in order to arrive at a solution, such expressions must be collected and considered.

(1) There was no breach of law on Ovid's part; the original fault was a mere mistake (*error*), an act of folly, and unpremeditated. See T. i. 2. 97; 3. 37; 5. 41.

ii. 109:

'me malus abstulit error.'

iii. 1. 51:

'in quo poenarum, quas se meruisse fatetur,
non facinus causam, sed suus error habet.'

iii. 6. 25:

'idque ita, si nullum scelus est in pectore nostro,
principiumque mei criminis error habet.'

Ibid. 35:

'stultitiamque meum crimen debere vocari,
nomina si facto reddere vera velis.'

¹ See Appendix, on El. ii. 102.

P. i. 6. 19:

'quae (i. e. mea pectora)
stulta magis dici quam scelerata decet.'

T. iv. 4. 43:

'ergo ut iure damus poenas, sic abfuit omne
peccato facinus consiliumque meo.'

P. i. 7. 41:

'quod nisi delicti pars excusabilis esset,
parva relegari poena futura fuit.'

ii. 9. 71:

'nec quicquam, quod lege vetor committere, feci.'

See also T. iii. 11. 34; iv. 1. 23; 8. 40; 10. 89; v. 2. 17;
4. 18; 11. 17. P. i. 7. 43.

(2) But he had been an unintentional witness of some crime committed by another or others.

T. ii. 103:

'cur aliquid vidi? cur noxia lumina feci?
cur imprudenti cognita culpa mihi?
inscius Actaeon vidit sine veste Dianam;
praeda fuit canibus non minus ille suis.'

iii. 5. 49:

'inscia quod crimen viderunt lumina, plector,
peccatumque oculos est habuisse meum.'

Ibid. 6. 27:

'nec breve nec tutum quo sint mea dicere casu
lumina funesti conscia facta mali.'

And it was something shameful;

T. v. 8. 23:

'vel quia peccavi citra scelus, utque pudore
non caret, invidia sic mea culpa caret.'

(3) It was something that nearly affected Augustus, and the mention of it was likely to prove very painful and offensive to him.

T. ii. 133:

'tristibus invectus verbis—ita principe dignum—
ultus es offensas, ut decet, ipse tuas.'

Ibid. 207:

'perdiderint cum me duo crimina, carmen et error,
alterius facti culpa silenda mihi:

nam non sum tanti, renovem ut tua vulnera, Caesar,
quem nimio plus est indoluisse semel.'

P. ii. 2. 59:

'vulneris id genus est, quod cum sanabile non sit,
non contrectari tutius esse puto.
lingua sile: non est ultra narrabile quicquam;
posse velim cineres obruere ipse meos.'

See T. i. 5. 52.

(4) What it was, was a matter of general notoriety at Rome.

T. iv. 10. 99:

'causa meae cunctis nimium quoque nota ruinae
indicio non est testificanda meo.'

P. i. 7. 39:

'et tamen ut cuperem culpam quoque posse negari,
sic facinus nemo nescit abesse mihi.'

(5) Though the original fault was a mere venial error,
yet he neglected to atone for it by his subsequent conduct.

T. iv. 4. 37:

'hanc quoque, qua perii, culpam scelus esse negabis,
si tanti series sit tibi nota mali.'

iii. 6. 11:

'cuique ego narrabam secreti quicquid habebam,
excepto quod me perdidit, unus eras.
id quoque si scisses, salvo fruerere sodali,
consilioque forem sospes, amice, tuo.'

P. ii. 6. 7:

'vera facis, sed sera, meae convicia culpae;
aspera confesso verba remitte reo.
cum poteram recto transire Ceraunia velo,
ut fera vitarem saxa, monendus eram.'

See P. ii. 3. 91.

(6) But his timidity prevented him from taking the right course.

T. iv. 4. 39:

'aut timor aut error nobis, prius obfuit error.'

P. ii. 2. 17:

'nil nisi non sapiens possum timidusque vocari:
haec duo sunt animi nomina vera mei.'

(7) What he did arose from no hope of personal gain, and
tended to ruin no one but himself.

P. ii. 2. 15:

'est mea culpa gravis, sed quae me perdere solum
ausa sit, et nullum maius adorta nefas.'

T. iii. 6. 33:

'nil igitur referam, nisi me peccasse: sed illo
praemia peccato nulla petita mihi.'

What then was this offence against the Emperor, which so
nearly affected the honour of his name?

Following closely upon the exile of Ovid occurred the disgrace
of the younger daughter of the elder Julia, and granddaughter of
Augustus. In spite of the example of her mother's fate the young
princess followed the same evil courses, and was banished in
762/9 to the island Trimerus on the shore of Apulia. Her
paramour, D. Silanus, was excluded from the friendship of the
Emperor¹, and voluntarily withdrew into exile. It seems impos-
sible not to connect the two events. According to this theory
we may suppose that Julia and Silanus attached to themselves
the accomplished and fashionable poet of the Art of Love. They
found in him a pleasant and amusing confidant. And he was
not likely to trouble lovers with scruples; to him the wish
of the Emperor's granddaughter was equivalent to a command,
or perhaps his vanity was stirred by the splendour of the con-
nexion with the imperial house. Augustus had always regarded
him with coldness; but now the opportunity seemed to have
presented itself of attaining to what was the dearest wish of his
heart, the position of the recognised poet of the court. When
his own eyes told him the nature of the connexion², he would be
sure to think silence was the only discreet, if not the only fair,
course to adopt; any act would involve personal danger, which
he was too timid to risk³. Thus he became no doubt their
confidant, though without gain to himself⁴. The affair was soon
noised abroad and reached the Emperor's ears. The oppor-
tunity had come at last; the desired pretext was afforded
against the author of the Art of Love. Ovid was the first of

¹ Tac. A. iii. 24.

³ See above (6).

² See above (2).

⁴ See above (7).

the three to suffer; and upon him was laid the severest punishment¹.

V.

THE LITERARY VALUE OF THE TRISTIA.

THE *Tristia* of Ovid has been frequently disparaged on two accounts: (1) the matter of the poems, and (2) their form has been impugned. Let us inquire into the truth of these charges.

(1) It has often been alleged that the reader is wearied by the sameness of the subject-matter. But if we consider that the five books of the *Tristia* are a collection of elegies professedly dealing with the exile's unhappy lot, we shall be astonished rather at the ingeniously diversified treatment with which what might well have become a monotonous theme has been handled². An examination, elegy by elegy, of the contents of the different books will make this apparent.

Let us begin with the first, with which we are more directly concerned. The prefatory El. i. is a highly ingenious apology for the shortcomings of the work. Ell. ii. and iv. contain two vigorous descriptions of a storm at sea. El. iii, one of the most beautiful of Ovid's poems, is an exquisitely touching description of his last night at Rome, and sad departure into his hopeless exile. El. v. is a finished eulogium of loyal friendship. El. vi. contains the expression of his affection towards his loving wife.

¹ The theory here adopted is that of Gaston Boissier, *L'Opposition sous les Césars*, ch. 3. The paper by Thomas Dyer in the *Classical Museum*, vol. 4. pp. 229-247, *On the cause of Ovid's exile*, has also been of great use. The *Essai sur l'exile d'Ovide* (Paris, 1859) by A. Deville is a successful refutation of most of the solutions that have been proposed. See further on this subject my introduction to Bk. III (Clarendon Press, 1889).

² The same criticism has been made upon Tennyson's *In Memoriam*, and may be answered in the same way.

El. vii. is an apology for the *Metamorphoses*; El. viii. a vehement expostulation with a friend who had deserted him. El. ix. contrasts the success of one of his friends with his own ruin. El. x. is a topographical account of the route from Italy to Tomi. El. xi. forms the epilogue to the Book. The charge of monotony is still further refuted by the contents of Book ii, one of the most elaborate of all the works of Ovid, full of literary learning and taste, in which he seeks to justify the *Ars Amatoria* by showing that it is no worse than much existing literature that is received with general approval. The case is the same with the contents of the three remaining books, which embrace several narrative poems¹; the charge of monotony must accordingly be abandoned, and we cannot refrain from the suspicion that those who make it have read but superficially the poems criticised.

Again, it is urged that the expression of the poet's sufferings is too unrestrained; that there is an excess of dolorous lamentation which betrays a want of manly endurance. This criticism is partially true, and is as old as the poet's own time. For in P. iii. 9 he shows in defence of the Pontic Epistles—and the defence is as applicable to the *Tristia*—that such frequent lamentations are what might be expected in dealing with so sad a subject (P. iii. 9. 35 ff.), and that as the poems are addressed to different persons the same sentiments naturally recur. Would it be reasonable, he naively remarks, to force me to write always to the same person, that the reader may not be offended by the recurrence of the same ideas (P. iii. 9. 41)?

Nor does the charge, brought by Macaulay, of 'impatience and pusillanimity²,' in enduring suffering appear well founded. One age differs from another, and one people from another, in no respect more than in this. The Greek hero or soldier might weep in the face of danger, but he was none the less brave. The Roman exile,

¹ e. g. iii. 9. (on the origin of the name Tomi); iii. 11 (the story of Phalaris); iv. 2 (a description of the triumph of Tiberius); iv. 10 (the poet's autobiography).

² *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, i. 470.

whether Cicero, or Ovid, or Seneca, might venture to express feelings which the long habit of self-restraint has taught the modern European to conceal, but it may well be doubted whether the virtue of patient endurance is really given to the one in any greater degree than it was to the other. Macaulay himself chafed bitterly under what he chose to call his banishment¹.

Yet the circumstances of Ovid gave a better title to melancholy than those of Macaulay. Macaulay went to India, for a limited period, with an established reputation, to discharge important legislative duties. Ovid went to Tomi as an exile who might scarcely hope for return. Ovid had fallen under the displeasure of the Emperor, the absolute master of the civilised world. And into this state of misery he was plunged from the most fortunate state. A happy father and a happy husband, an honoured member of the most brilliant literary society of the world, enjoying the favour of many of Rome's greatest nobles, a man of elegance and luxury, personally unaccustomed to hardship, he was banished suddenly to the inhospitable and barbaric Tomi, the Siberia of the ancient world².

It may rather be urged that this very exuberance and simplicity of feeling, this intense subjectivity, constitutes one of the chief excellences of these poems of exile. There is as much of sorrow as of happiness in the world; and it is the function of the

¹ Macaulay's Life, p. 423: 'I have no words to tell you how I pine for England, or how intensely bitter exile has been to me, though I hope that I have borne it well. I feel as if I had no other wish than to see my country again, and die. Let me assure you that banishment is no light matter. No person can judge of it who has not experienced it. A complete revolution in all the habits of life; an estrangement from almost every old friend and acquaintance; fifteen hundred miles of ocean between the exile, and everything that he cares for; all this is, to me at least, very trying. There is no temptation of wealth, or power, which would induce me to go through it again.'

² My father has pointed out to me the curiously analogous case of the poet Salman, who was imprisoned in the twelfth century by the Ghasnavide sovereigns, Mas'ud Ibrahim and Bahram Shah, and whose poetry presents many illustrative analogies to that of Ovid. See Sir H. Elliot's History of India as told by its own historians, iv. p. 518 ff.

poet to sing of the sadder aspects of human life as well as the happier¹:

'Weep not over poet's wrong,
mourn not his mischances;
sorrow is the source of song,
and of gentle fancies².'

It is to this feature that the Tristia and Pontic Epistles owed the wide popularity which they very early enjoyed. It has been well remarked by Dean Merivale: 'In the course of time the empire teemed with a society of fellow-sufferers, who learnt perhaps, from their own woes, to sympathize with the lamentations of the first generation of exiles. The Tristia of Ovid became the common expression of the sentiments of a whole class of unfortunates³.'

(2) The faults of form in the Tristia are more obvious, and are the result partly of the poet's acknowledged dislike of correcting and pruning his verses⁴, partly of his rhetorical training, and partly of the admiration, which he in common with many writers of the day, entertained for the affected school of Alexandrine poets⁵.

Ovid's dislike of correcting gives rise to that excessive luxuriance of similes and images with which at times he overloads the subject and overburdens the reader⁶, and which led Quintilian to characterise him as 'nimium amator ingenii sui⁷.' His rhetorical training must answer for his great addiction to declamation,

¹ Verg. Aen. i. 462:

'sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.'

Keble has dwelt largely upon this aspect of poetry in his Praelectiones Academicæ, the subject of which work is *de poetica vi medica*.

² James Hedderwick.

³ Merivale's History of the Romans under the Empire, iv. 607.

⁴ P. i. 5. 15; iii. 9. 7 ff.

⁵ The Alexandrians chiefly imitated by Ovid were, Callimachus, Philetas (T. i. 6. 2, v. 5. 33, A. A. iii. 329), and Lycophron (Ellis, Ibis p. xlii.); and Antimachus (T. i. 6. 1), though not an Alexandrine, who was another of his models, appears to have laboured under similar faults.

⁶ Cp. i. 5. 47, Lörs.

⁷ x. 88.

and to the use of tropes and rhetorical figures. To his imitation of the Alexandrines we can trace the occasional affectation of his sentiments and ideas, and his love of conceits and playing upon words, and other such complications.

But when all these defects are considered and allowed for, it must be admitted that they are greatly counterbalanced by the merits of the work. And it would be surprising if this were not so. For in spite of his faults, which he carries on the surface, we shall not be far wrong in judging Ovid, with Niebuhr¹, to be 'of all the Roman poets whose works have come down to us, by far the most poetical after Catullus.' He may want the gravity and variety of cadence of Vergil—but he has to a greater degree the crowning excellence of a poet, general simplicity and directness of expression. He may want the finished style of Horace, but he is free from his coldness and painful elaboration. His thought is as clear as water; and the thought instantly clothes itself in a suitable poetic form. He who alone of his contemporaries has, as far as we know, justly appreciated the greatness of 'the majestic Lucretius²;' was too able a critic to fail to observe his own supremacy in this respect; T. iv. 10. 25:

'sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos,
et quod temptabam scribere, versus erat.'

The ease and apparent artlessness of his numbers have sometimes created an impression of negligence; and this opinion is unfortunately likely to attract many in the present age, when it seems to be the fashion to value poetry more highly in proportion to its obscurity, and to confuse simplicity of style with poverty of thought. The study of the works of Ovid cannot fail to serve as a potent antidote to such mistaken notions, for in him, above all other poets, is exemplified the truth of the maxim that the province of art is to conceal art.

Nor can we fail to admire his richness of imagination, which manifests itself in a never-failing variety of expression, and in the marvellous wealth of his similes³; or the

¹ Lectures, iii. 139; Bohn's edition.

² Am. i. 15. 23.

³ A notable instance is the celebrated address of Polyphemus to Galatea, M. 13. 788 ff. See T. i. 1. 75 ff.; iv. 1. 5 ff.; 6. 1 ff.

easiness of his versification, which has caused the Ovidian distich, rather than that of Tibullus or Propertius, to be regarded as the standard of that class of Latin verse composition. Nor must it be forgotten that, though apparently so simple and straightforward, he was possessed of a store of erudition probably as great as any of the poets of Rome. The legendary lore, history, and literature of Greece and Rome, the field of geography, the manners and customs of different nations, the phaenomena of nature,—all are made to contribute towards the adornment of his verse. Yet richly stocked as was the poet's mind, he is never encumbered with his learning; he wields it with ease and elegance, and it adds only one more to the many charms of his poems¹.

VI.

ON THE TEXT OF THE TRISTIA.

THE criticism of the text of Ovid is beset with great difficulties; for while, on the one hand, our MSS. are for the most part not very ancient, on the other hand this author acquired very early such wide popularity that numberless corrections of whatever seemed obscure, unusual, or corrupt crept very early into the MS. or MSS. from which our existing copies directly or indirectly drew their origin. Hence the editor of Ovid must search for a MS. which is as free as possible from such corrections. That MS. will be one which to an inexperienced reader would present the appearance of great corruption; a MS. in which there is such an abundance of mistakes and monstrosities as to indicate that the scribe either of this MS. or of that from which it was

¹ Contrast e.g. the admirable treatment of Roman legends in Ovid's *Fasti* with the meagreness of Tibullus, ii. 5. The poems of Ovid's exile inspired that curious restoration drama, *The Tragedy of Ovid*, by Sir Aston Cokain.

copied, was fortunately ignorant of Latin, and therefore unable to amend the text according to his own conceptions; but was content to simply transcribe, often, it may be, incorrectly enough, what lay before him. A MS. of this type is of the greatest possible value, and is called an uninterpolated MS. For the errors incidental to copying may be reduced to certain broad principles; an acquaintance with which frequently enables the critic to detect the cause of a seemingly unintelligible reading, and to correct it. But the ingenious perversities of the educated scribe, with his dangerously slight apparatus of learning, and his love of altering, sometimes in order to excise whatever idioms are to him unfamiliar, sometimes from the pure love of alteration, lead to such a wide departure from the original text that it is often a fruitless task to attempt to distinguish from such data the authentic reading¹.

A MS. of the latter type is called an interpolated MS, and most of the MSS. of the *Tristia* belong to this class. It is possible to arrange MSS. with more or less precision under certain groups, classes, or families, which exhibit such affinities and resemblances as to prove that each family can be traced to a common original now lost. The MSS. of the *Tristia* can be broadly distinguished into two such families, one of which represents the uninterpolated, the other the interpolated tradition.

Merkel in his critical edition, and all preceding editors, regarded a MS. called the *Palatinus I.* as the best, and based the text on the MSS. of that family. But the discovery of the valuable Florence MS. L has established that the Palatine group of MSS. is worthless; and the text now depends on the Florence MS. and those that are akin to it. The errors that separate L from Pal. I. are precisely those errors of mere carelessness or ignorance

¹ A few examples of interpolation from Bk. i. may be not uninteresting. In i. 18, the genuine *illi* is supplanted by the easier *exstat*; i. 32, *miseris* by *miserio*; i. 124, *viae* by *morae*; ii. 15, *dicta* by *verba*; ii. 25, *murmure* by *turbine*; ii. 41, *o* by *di*; ii. 92, *volunt* by *vident*; iii. 14, *et* by *ut* (interpolated from l. 13); iii. 25, *parvis* by *parvo*; iii. 58, *summa* by *multa*.

which are the sign of a good MS. Thus we find mere slips of the following nature:

(a) A word from one line is frequently transferred into the next, and supplants a word there. (See i. 6. 2.)

(b) Lines are accidentally transposed, e.g. at vii. 14, the order is 14, 17, 18, 19, 16, 15, 20, etc.

(c) Words (v. 37. 83) or whole lines, in all about 30 (see i. 6. 34; viii. 33), are omitted.

Besides this, numerous passages show the scribe to have been ignorant of Latin.

Unfortunately the MS. is imperfect.

It originally consisted of two folio volumes, in the opinion of Mr. Anziani, bound separately. The first volume contained the *Metamorphoses*, *Nux*, and *Medicamina Formae*; the second, which was much smaller, the *Tristia*. At some period the MS. appears to have suffered extensive mutilation; it was probably taken out of its binding, and suffered from the exposure so much that in many places the writing became almost or quite illegible. And worse than this, many whole pages were torn out. Later, at some time in the fifteenth century, an endeavour was made to rehabilitate the unfortunate MS. The faint writing was refreshed, numerous, chiefly worthless, corrections were made in the margin, and the lost passages were copied in a large hand totally different from that of the original MS, and were bound into the vacant spaces.

These supplied later portions are of a totally different family from the original MS. Their authority is mainly worthless, for they belong to the interpolated group.

The older part of the MS. I call L, the recent λ. Accordingly our MS. is of a very composite character, which, omitting the *Metamorphoses*, *Nux*, and M. F., is exhibited in the following table:

fol. 56^r-57^v. T. i. 1. 1-5. 10 λ

fol. 58^r-63^v. T. i. 5. 11-iii. 7. 1 L

(iii. 7. 2-iv. 1. 11 (in all 398 lines) which occupied two folios are entirely lost).

fol. 64^r-65^v. T. iv. 1. 12-iv. 7. 5 L
 fol. 66^r-70^v. T. iv. 7. 6 to the end λ

Thus for a large part of the first book, for part of the third and fourth, and the whole of the fifth, the best MS. L unfortunately fails us.

It is therefore necessary to supplement L by other MSS, if possible, of the same class. And although no MS. hitherto known approaches L in goodness, a few may be found which occupy this supplementary position, and stand in their reading and characteristics as boldly apart from the vast aggregate of (interpolated) MSS. as L itself. The following five MSS. conform to these conditions.

A. *Marcianus Politiani*. A MS. formerly in the library of San Marco at Florence, but now lost, and known only from a careful collation of it executed by Politian in his copy of the Parma edition of 1477, and now preserved in the Bodleian library at Oxford.

G. *Guelferbytanus*, Gudianus n. 192, at Wolfenbüttel, a vellum MS, sec. xiii. The original text has been corrected at different times by several different hands.

H. *Holkhamicus*, sec. xiii.—A vellum MS. at Holkham Hall, Norfolk, the property of the Earl of Leicester.

P. *Palatinus* 910, sec. xv.—A paper MS. now in the Vatican library.

V. *Vaticanus*, n. 1606, is a vellum MS, sec. xiii, written in the Gothic character, containing the Tristia only. There are many corrections and erasures; besides the original hand, two correcting hands, each of the same age as the original, have operated on the MS.

These five MSS. agree pretty generally together; though G and H are decidedly the most, and P the least trustworthy of this family, which as a whole conforms rather to the tradition of L than to that of the vast company of the inferior MSS. These inferior MSS. represent one or more recensions of the text later and more corrupted than that preserved by the class to which L and its adherents belong. Their evidence may generally be neglected; though in some passages where the family of L fails us they appear

to present the genuine reading. Among them the best are a MS. at Leiden (*Leidensis* 177), and one at Gotha (*Gothanus Mbr.* II. 122), both sec. xiii.

A few words must be added with regard to L, which is a folio vellum MS. of the eleventh century, and formerly belonged to the library of San Marco (hence its name, *Marcianus*, n. 223). Some critics date it as early as the tenth, and others as late as the twelfth century, but both Mr. Anziani and Mr. Paoli, professor of Latin Palaeography at Florence, who kindly favoured me with their opinion upon it, unite in assigning it to the eleventh century. The original writing is that of the same scribe throughout; the differences of distinctness and form in the letters are not due, as has been supposed by some, to the co-operation of two different hands, which, as such differences often occur in the same line, is highly improbable, but to a difference of ink or pen employed. Three correctors have worked upon the MS: the first is a hand contemporary with the original, possibly the same. The second and third belong to a later age.

TRISTIVM

LIBER PRIMVS.

I.

PARVE—nec invideo—sine me, liber, ibis in urbem :
ei mihi, quod domino non licet ire tuo !
vade, sed incultus, qualem decet exulis esse :
infelix habitum temporis huius habe.
nec te purpureo velent vaccinia fuco : 5
non est conveniens luctibus ille color :
nec titulus minio, nec cedro charta notetur,
candida nec nigra cornua fronte geras.
felices ornent haec instrumenta libellos :
fortunae memorem te decet esse meae. 10
nec fragili geminae poliantur pumice frontes,
hirsutus sparsis ut videare comis.
neve liturarum pudeat. qui viderit illas,
de lacrimis factas sentiat esse meis.
vade, liber, verbisque meis loca grata saluta : 15
contingam certe quo licet illa pede.
si quis, ut in populo, nostri non immemor illi,
si quis, qui, quid agam, forte requiret, erit :
vivere me dices, salvum tamen esse negabis :
id quoque, quod vivam, munus habere dei. 20

atque ita tu tacitus,—quaerenti plura legendum,—
 ne, quae non opus est, forte loquere, cave.
 protinus admonitus repetet mea crimina lector,
 et peragar populi publicus ore reus.
 tu cave defendas, quamvis mordebere dictis : 25
 causa patrocínio non bona maior erit.
 inuenies aliquem, qui me suspiret ademptum,
 carmina nec siccis perlegat ista genis,
 et tacitus secum, ne quis malus audiat, optet,
 sit mea lenito Caesare poena levis : 30
 nos quoque, quisquis erit, ne sit miser ille, precamur,
 placatos miseris qui volet esse deos.
 quaeque volet, rata sint, ablataque principis ira
 sedibus in patriis det mihi posse mori.
 ut peragas mandata, liber, culpabere forsán 35
 ingeniique minor laude ferere mei.
 iudicis officium est ut res, ita tempora rerum
 quaerere : quaesito tempore tutus eris.
 carmina proveniunt animo deducta sereno :
 nubila sunt subitis tempora nostra malis. 40
 carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt :
 me mare, me venti, me fera iactat hiemps.
 carminibus metus omnis abest : ego perditus ensem
 haesurum iugulo iam puto iamque meo.
 haec quoque quod facio, iudex mirabitur aequus 45
 scriptaque cum venia qualiacumque leget.
 da mihi Maeoniden, et tot circumspice casus :
 ingenium tantis excidet omne malis.
 denique securus famae, liber, ire memento,
 nec tibi sit lecto displicuisse pudor. 50
 non ita se praebet nobis fortuna secundam,
 ut tibi sit ratio laudis habenda tuae.

donec eram sospes, tituli tangebar amore
 quaerendique mihi nominis ardor erat.
 carmina nunc si non studiumque, quod offuit, odi, 55
 sit satis : ingenio sic fuga parta meo.
 tu tamen i pro me, tu, cui licet, aspice Romam :
 di facerent, possem nunc meus esse liber !
 nec te, quod venias magnam peregrinus in urbem,
 ignotum populo posse venire puta. 60
 ut titulo careas, ipso noscere colore :
 dissimulare velis, te liquet esse meum.
 clam tamen intrato, ne te mea carmina laedant :
 non sunt ut quondam plena favoris erant
 si quis erit, qui te, quia sis meus, esse legendum 65
 non putet, e gremio reiciatque suo,
 ‘inspice’ dic ‘titulum. non sum praeceptor amoris;
 quas meruit, poenas iam dedit illud opus.’
 forsitan exspectes, an in alta palatia missum
 scandere te iubeam Caesareamque domum? 70
 ignoscant augusta mihi loca dique locorum :
 venit in hoc illa fulmen ab arce caput.
 esse quidem memini mitissima sedibus illis
 numina ; sed timeo qui nocuere, deos.
 terretur minimo pennae stridore columba 75
 unguibus, accipiter, saucia facta tuis.
 nec procul a stabulis audet discedere, si qua
 excussa est avidi dentibus agna lupi
 vitaret caelum Phaëthon, si viveret, et quos
 optarat stulte, tangere nollet equos. 80
 me quoque, quae sensi, fateor Iovis arma timere :
 me reor infesto, cum tonat, igne peti.
 quicumque Argolica de classe Capherea fugit,
 semper ab Euboicis vela retorquet aquis.

et mea cumba semel vasta percussa procella 85
 illum, quo laesa est, horret adire locum.
 ergo cave, liber, et timida circumspice mente:
 ut satis a media sit tibi plebe legi.
 dum petit infirmis nimium sublimia pennis
 Icarus, aequoreis nomina fecit aquis. 90
 difficile est tamen hinc, remis utaris an aura,
 dicere. consilium resque locusque dabunt.
 si poteris vacuo tradi, si cuncta videbis
 mitia, si vires fregerit ira suas:
 si quis erit, qui te dubitantem et adire timentem 95
 tradat, et ante tamen pauca loquatur, adi.
 luce bona domineque tuo felicior ipso
 pervenias illuc et mala nostra leves.
 namque ea vel nemo, vel qui mihi vulnera fecit
 solus Achilleo tollere more potest. 100
 tantum ne noceas, dum vis prodesse, videto.
 nam spes est animi nostra timore minor.
 quaeque quiescebat, ne mota resaeviat ira,
 et poenae tu sis altera causa, cave.
 cum tamen in nostrum fueris penetrare receptus 105
 contigerisque tuam, scrinia curva, domum:
 aspicias illic positos ex ordine fratres,
 quos studium cunctos evigilavit idem.
 cetera turba palam titulos ostendet apertos,
 et sua detecta nomina fronte geret. 110
 tres procul obscura latitantes parte videbis,—
 hi qui, quod nemo nescit amare docent:
 hos tu vel fugias vel, si satis oris habebis,
 Oedipodas facito Telegonosque voces.
 deque tribus, moneo, si qua est tibi cura parentis, 115
 ne quemquam, quamvis ipse docebit, ames.

sunt quoque mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae,
 nuper ab exequiis carmina rapta meis.
 his mando dicas inter mutata referri
 fortunae vultum corpora posse meae. 120
 namque ea dissimilis subito est effecta priori,
 flendaque nunc, aliquo tempore laeta fuit.
 plura quidem mandare tibi, si quaeris, habebam:
 sed vereor tardae causa fuisse viae.
 et si quae subeunt, tecum, liber, omnia ferres, 125
 sarcina laturo magna futurus eras.
 longa via est, propera! nobis habitabitur orbis
 ultimus, a terra terra remota mea.

II.

Di maris et caeli—quid enim nisi vota supersunt?—
 solvere quassatae parcite membra ratis,
 neve, precor, magni subscribite Caesaris irae!
 saepe premente' deo fert deus alter opem.
 Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo: 5
 aequa Venus Teucris, Pallas iniqua fuit.
 oderat Aeneam propior Saturnia Turno:
 ille tamen Veneris numine tutus erat.
 saepe ferox cautum petiit Neptunus Vlixem,
 eripuit patruo saepe Minerva suo. 10
 et nobis aliquod, quamvis distamus ab illis,
 quis vetat irato numen adesse deo?
 verba miser frustra non proficientia perdo.
 ipsa graves spargunt ora loquentis aquae,
 terribilisque notus iactat mea dicta precesque, 15
 ad quos mittuntur, non sinit ire deos.
 ergo idem venti, ne causa laedar in una,
 velaque nescio quo vota que nostra ferunt.

me miserum, quanti montes volvuntur aquarum!
 iam iam tacturos sidera summa putes. 20
 quantae diducto subsidunt aequore valles!
 iam iam tacturas Tartara nigra putes.
 quocumque aspicio, nihil est, nisi pontus et aër,
 fluctibus hic tumidus, nubibus ille minax.
 inter utrumque fremunt inmani murmure venti: 25
 nescit, cui domino pareat, unda maris.
 nam modo purpureo vires capit eurus ab ortu,
 nunc zephyrus sero vespere missus adest,
 nunc sicca gelidus boreas bacchatur ab arcto,
 nunc notus adversa proelia fronte gerit. 30
 rector in incerto est nec quid fugiatve petatve
 invenit: ambiguis ars stupet ipsa malis.
 scilicet occidimus, nec spes est ulla salutis,
 dumque loquor, vultus obruit unda meos.
 opprimet hanc animam fluctus, frustra que precanti 35
 ore necaturas accipiemus aquas.
 at pia nil aliud quam me dolet exule coniunx:
 hoc unum nostri scitque gemitque mali.
 nescit in immenso iactari corpora ponto,
 nescit agi ventis, nescit adesse necem. 40
 o bene, quod non sum mecum conscendere passus,
 ne mihi mors misero bis patiendâ foret!
 at nunc ut peream, quoniam caret illa periclo,
 dimidia certe parte superstes ero.
 ei mihi, quam celeri micuerunt nubila flamma! 45
 quantus ab aetherio personat axe fragor!
 nec levius tabulae laterum feriuntur ab undis,
 quam grave ballistae moenia pulsat onus.
 qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes:
 posterior nono est undecimoque prior. 50

nec letum timeo: genus est miserabile leti.
 demite naufragium, mors mihi munus erit.
 est aliquid, fatoque suo ferroque cadentem
 in solida moriens ponere corpus humo,
 et mandare suis aliqua, et sperare sepulcrum, 55
 et non aequoreis piscibus esse cibum.
 fingite me dignum tali nece: non ego solus
 hic vehor. inmeritos cur mea poena trahit?
 pro superi viridesque dei, quibus aequora curae,
 utraque iam vestras sistite turba minas: 60
 quamque dedit vitam mitissima Caesaris ira,
 hanc sinite infelix in loca iussa feram.
 si quoque, quam merui, poena me perdere vultis,
 culpa mea est ipso iudice morte minor.
 mittere me Stygias si iam voluisset in undas 65
 Caesar, in hoc vestra non eguisset ope.
 est illi nostri non invidiosa cruoris
 copia: quodque dedit, cum volet, ipse feret.
 vos modo, quos certe nullo, puto, crimine laesi,
 contenti nostris iam, precor, este malis! 70
 nec tamen, ut cuncti miserum servare velitis,
 quod periit, salvum iam caput esse potest.
 ut mare considat ventisque ferentibus utar,
 ut mihi parcatis, non minus exul ero.
 non ego divitias avidus sine fine parandi 75
 latum mutandis mercibus aequor aro:
 nec peto, quas quondam petii studiosus, Athenas,
 oppida non Asiae, non loca visa prius,
 non ut Alexandri claram delatus ad urbem
 delicias videam, Nile iocose, tuas. 80
 quod faciles opto ventos,—quis credere possit?—
 Sarmatis est tellus, quam mea vela petunt.

obligor, ut tangam laevi fera litora Ponti:
 quodque sit a patria tam fuga tarda, queror.
 nescio quò videam positos ut in orbe Tomitas, 85
 exilem facio per mea vota viam.
 seu me diligitis, tantos conpescite fluctus,
 pronaque sint nostrae numina vestra rati:
 seu magis odistis, iussae me advertite terrae:
 supplicii pars est in regione mei. 90
 ferte—quid hic facio?—rapidi mea corpora venti!
 Ausonios fines cur mea vela volunt?
 noluit hoc Caesar. quid, quem fugat ille, tenetis?
 adspiciat vultus Pontica terra meos.
 et iubet, et merui. nec, quae damnaverit ille, 95
 crimina defendi fasque piumque puto.
 si tamen acta deos numquam mortalia fallunt,
 a culpa facinus scitis abesse mea.
 immo ita si scitis, si me meus abstulit error,
 stultaque mens nobis, non scelerata, fuit: 100
 quod licet et minimis, domui si favimus illi,
 si satis Augusti publica iussa mihi:
 hoc duce si dixi felicia saecula proque
 Caesare tura piis Caesaribusque dedi:
 si fuit hic animus nobis, ita parcite divi! 105
 si minus, alta cadens obruat unda caput!
 fallor, an incipiunt gravidae vanescere nubes,
 victaque mutati frangitur unda maris?
 non casu! vos sed sub condicione vocati,
 fallere quos non est, hanc mihi fertis opem. 110

III.

Cum subit illius tristissima noctis imago,
 qua mihi supremum tempus in urbe fuit,

cum repeto noctem, qua tot mihi cara reliqui,
 labitur ex oculis nunc quoque gutta meis.
 iam prope lux aderat, qua me discedere Caesar 5
 finibus extremae iusserat Ausoniae.
 nec spatium nec mens fuerat satis apta parandi:
 torpuerant longa pectora nostra mora.
 non mihi servorum, comites non cura legendi,
 non aptae profugo vestis opisve fuit. 10
 non aliter stupui, quam qui Iovis ignibus ictus
 vivit et est vitae nescius ipse suae.
 ut tamen hanc animi nubem dolor ipse removit,
 et tandem sensus convaluere mei,
 adloquor extremum maestos abiturus amicos, 15
 qui modo de multis unus et alter erat.
 uxor amans flentem flens acrius ipsa tenebat,
 imbre per indignas usque cadente genas.
 nata procul Libycis aberat diversa sub oris
 nec poterat fati certior esse mei. 20
 quocumque aspiceres, luctus gemitusque sonabant
 formaque non taciti funeris intus erat.
 femina virque meo, pueri quoque funere maerent:
 inque domo lacrimas angulus omnis habet.
 si licet exemplis in parvis grandibus uti, 25
 haec facies Troiae, cum caperetur, erat.
 iamque quiescebant voces hominumque canumque.
 Lunaque nocturnos alta regebat equos.
 hanc ego suspiciens et ad hanc Capitolia cernens,
 quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere lari, 30
 ‘numina vicinis habitantia sedibus,’ inquam,
 ‘iamque oculis numquam templa videnda meis,
 dique relinquendi, quos urbs habet alta Quirini,
 este salutati tempus in omne mihi!

et quamquam sero clipeum post vulnera sumo, 35
 attamen hanc odiis exonerate fugam
 caelestique viro, quis me deceperit error,
 dicite, pro culpa ne scelus esse putet.
 ut, quod vos scitis, poenae quoque sentiat auctor:
 placato possum non miser esse deo. 40
 hac prece adoravi superos ego: pluribus uxor,
 singultu medios impediante sonos.
 illa etiam ante lares passis adstrata capillis
 contigit extinctos ore tremente focos,
 multaque in adversos effudit verba penates 45
 pro deplorato non valitura viro.
 iamque morae spatium nox praecipitata negabat,
 versaque ab axe suo Parrhasis arctos erat.
 quid facerem? blando patriae retinebar amore:
 ultima sed iussae nox erat illa fugae. 50
 a! quotiens aliquo dixi properante 'quid urges?
 vel quo festinas ire vel unde, vide!'
 a! quotiens certam me sum mentitus habere
 horam, propositae quae foret apta viae.
 ter limen tetigi, ter sum revocatus, et ipse 55
 indulgens animo pes mihi tardus erat.
 saepe 'vale' dicto rursus sum multa locutus,
 et quasi discedens oscula summa dedi.
 saepe eadem mandata dedi meque ipse fefelli
 respiciens oculis pignora cara meis. 60
 denique 'quid propero? Scythia est, quo mittimur,'
 inquam
 'Roma relinquenda est. utraque iusta mora est.
 uxor in aeternum vivo mihi viva negatur,
 et domus et fidae dulcia membra domus,

quosque ego dilexi fraterno more sodales, 65
 o mihi Thesea pectora iuncta fide!
 dum licet, amplectar: numquam fortasse licebit
 amplius. in lucro est quae datur hora mihi.
 nec mora, sermonis verba imperfecta relinquo,
 complectens animo proxima quaeque meo. 70
 dum loquor et flemus, caelo nitidissimus alto,
 stella gravis nobis, Lucifer ortus erat.
 dividor haud aliter, quam si mea membra relinquam,
 et pars abrumpi corpore visa suo est.
 sic doluit Mettus tunc, cum in contraria versos 75
 ultores habuit proditionis equos.
 tum vero exoritur clamor gemitusque meorum,
 et feriunt maestae pectora nuda manus.
 tum vero coniunx umeris abeuntis inhaerens
 miscuit haec lacrimis tristia verba meis: 80
 'non potes avelli. simul hinc, simul ibimus,' inquit:
 'te sequar et coniunx exulis exul ero.
 et mihi facta via est, et me capit ultima tellus:
 accedam profugae sarcina parva rati.
 te iubet e patria discedere Caesaris ira, 85
 me pietas. pietas haec mihi Caesar erit.'
 talia temptabat, sicut temptaverat ante,
 vixque dedit victas utilitate manus.
 egredior—sive illud erat sine funere ferri—
 squalidus, inmissis hirta per ora comis. 90
 illa dolore amens tenebris narratur obortis
 semianimis media procubuisse domo:
 utque resurrexit foedatis pulvere turpi
 crinibus et gelida membra levavit humo,
 se modo, desertos modo conplorasce penates, 95
 nomen et erepti saepe vocasse viri,

nec gemuisse minus, quam si nataeque virique
 vidisset structos corpus habere rogos,
 et voluisse mori, moriendo ponere sensus,
 respectuque tamen non periisse mei. 100
 vivat! et absentem—quoniam sic fata tulerunt—
 vivat ut auxilio sublevet usque suo.

IV.

Tingitur oceano custos Erymanthidos ursae,
 aequoreasque suo sidere turbat aquas.
 nos tamen Ionium non nostra findimus aequor
 sponte, sed audaces cogimur esse metu.
 me miserum! quantis increscunt aequora ventis, 5
 erutaque ex imis fervet harena fretis.
 monte nec inferior prorae puppive recurvae
 insilit et pictos verberat unda deos.
 pinea texta sonant, pulsati stridore rudentes,
 ingemit et nostris ipsa carina malis. 10
 navita confessus gelidum pallore timorem
 iam sequitur victus, non regit arte ratem.
 utque parum validus non proficientia rector
 cervicis rigidae frena remittit equo,
 sic non quo voluit, sed quo rapit impetus undae, 15
 aurigam video vela dedisse rati.
 quod nisi mutatas emisit Aeolus auras,
 in loca iam nobis non adeunda ferar.
 nam procul Illyriis laeva de parte relictis
 interdicta mihi cernitur Italia. 20
 desinat in vetitas quaeso contendere terras,
 et mecum magno pareat aura deo.
 dum loquor, et timeo pariter cupioque repelli,
 increpuit quantis viribus unda latus!

parcite caerulei, vos parcite, numina ponti, 25
 infestumque mihi sit satis esse Iovem.
 vos animam saevae fessam subducite morti,
 si modo, qui periit, non periisse potest.

V.

O mihi post ullos numquam memorande sodales,
 et cui praecipue sors mea visa sua est!
 attonitum qui me, memini, carissime, primus
 ausus es alloquio sustinuisse tuo,
 qui mihi consilium vivendi mite dedisti, 5
 cum foret in misero pectore mortis amor.
 scis bene, cui dicam, positus pro nomine signis,
 officium nec te fallit, amice, tuum.
 haec mihi semper erunt imis infixae medullis,
 perpetuusque animae debitor huius ero: 10
 spiritus et vacuas prius hic tenuandus in auras
 ibit et in tepido deseret ossa rogo,
 quam subeant animo meritorum obliviae nostro,
 et longa pietas excidat ista die.
 di tibi sint faciles, tibi di nullius egentem 15
 fortunam praestent dissimilemque meae.
 si tamen haec navis vento ferretur amico,
 ignoraretur forsitan ista fides.
 Thesea Pirithous non tam sensisset amicum,
 si non infernas vivus adisset aquas. 20
 ut foret exemplum veri Phoeus amoris,
 fecerunt furiae, tristis Oresta, tuae.
 si non Euryalus Rutulos cecidisset in hostes,
 Hyrtacidae Nisi gloria nulla foret.
 scilicet ut flavum spectatur in ignibus aurum, 25
 tempore sic duro est inspicienda fides.

dum iuvat et vultu ridet Fortuna sereno,
 indelibatas cuncta secuntur opes :
 at simul intonuit, fugiunt, nec noscitur ulli,
 agminibus comitum qui modo cinctus erat. 30
 atque haec, exemplis quondam collecta priorum,
 nunc mihi sunt propriis cognita vera malis.
 vix duo tresve mihi de tot superestis amici :
 cetera Fortunae, non mea turba fuit.
 quo magis, o pauci, rebus succurrite laesis, 35
 et date naufragio litora tuta meo.
 neve metu falso nimium trepidate, timentes,
 hac offendatur ne pietate deus.
 saepe fidem adversis etiam laudavit in armis,
 inque suis amat hanc Caesar, in hoste probat. 40
 causa mea est melior, qui non contraria fovi
 arma, sed hanc merui simplicitate fugam.
 invigiles igitur nostris pro casibus, oro,
 deminui si qua numinis ira potest.
 scire meos casus si quis desiderat omnes, 45
 plus, quam quod fieri res sinit, ille petit.
 tot mala sum passus, quot in aethere sidera lucent,
 parvaque quot siccus corpora pulvis habet :
 multaque credibili tulimus maiora ratamque,
 quamvis acciderint, non habitura fidem. 50
 pars etiam quaedam mecum moriatur oportet,
 meque velim possit dissimulante tegi.
 si vox infragilis, pectus mihi firmitus aere,
 pluraque cum linguis pluribus ora forent :
 non tamen idcirco complecterer omnia verbis, 55
 materia vires exsuperante meas.
 pro duce Neritio docti mala nostra poetae
 scribite : Neritio nam mala plura tuli.

ille brevi spatio multis erravit in annis
 inter Dulichias Iliacasque domos : 60
 nos freta sideribus totis distantia mensos
 sors tulit in Geticos Sarmaticosque sinus.
 ille habuit fidamque manum sociosque fideles :
 me profugum comites deseruere mei.
 ille suam laetus patriam victorque petebat : 65
 a patria fugi victus et exul ego.
 nec mihi Dulichium domus est Ithaceve Samosve,
 poena quibus non est grandis abesse locis :
 sed quae de septem totum circumspicit orbem
 montibus, inperii Roma deumque locus. 70
 illi corpus erat durum patiensque laborum :
 invalidae vires ingenuaeque mihi.
 ille erat adsidue saevis agitatus in armis :
 adsuetus studiis mollibus ipse fui.
 me deus oppressit, nullo mala nostra levante : 75
 bellatrix illi diva ferebat opem.
 cumque minor Iove sit tumidis qui regnat in undis,
 illum Neptuni, me Iovis ira premit.
 adde, quod illius pars maxima ficta laborum,
 ponitur in nostris fabula nulla malis. 80
 denique quaesitos tetigit tamen ille penates,
 quaeque diu petiit, contigit arva tamen :
 at mihi perpetuo patria tellure carendum,
 ni fuerit laesi mollior ira dei.

VI.

Nec tantum Clario est Lyde dilecta poetae,
 nec tantum Coe Bittis amata suo est,
 pectoribus quantum tu nostris, uxor, inhaeres,
 digna minus misero, non meliore viro.

te mea supposita veluti trabe fulta ruina est : 5
 si quid adhuc ego sum, muneris omne tui est.
 tu facis, ut spoliū non sim, nec nuder ab illis,
 naufragii tabulas qui petiere mei.
 utque rapax stimulante fame cupidusque cruoris
 incustoditum captat ovile lupus, 10
 aut ut edax vultur corpus circumspicit ecquod
 sub nulla positum cernere possit humo,
 sic mea nescio quis, rebus male fidus acerbis,
 in bona venturus, si paterere, fuit.
 hunc tua per fortis virtus summovit amicos 15
 nulla quibus reddi gratia digna potest.
 ergo quam misero, tam vero teste probaris,
 hic aliquod pondus si modo testis habet.
 nec probitate tua prior est aut Hectoris uxor
 aut comes exstincto Laudamia viro. 20
 tu si Maeonium vatem sortita fuisses,
 Penelopes esset fama secunda tuae :
 sive tibi hoc debes, nulli pia facta magistro,
 cumque nova mores sunt tibi luce dati,
 femina seu princeps omnes tibi culta per annos 25
 te docet exemplum coniugis esse bonae,
 adsimilemque sui longa adsuetudine fecit,
 grandia si parvis adsimilare licet.
 ei mihi, non magnas quod habent mea carmina vires,
 nostrarque sunt meritis ora minora tuis! 30
 si quid et in nobis vivi fuit ante vigoris
 exstinctum longis occidit omne malis.
 prima locum sanctas heroidas inter haberes,
 prima bonis animi conspicerere tui ;
 quantumcumque tamen praeconia nostra valebunt, 35
 carminibus vives tempus in omne meis.

VII.

‘Si quis habes nostris similes in imagine vultus,
 deme meis hederas, Bacchia sarta, comis.
 ista decent laetos felicia signa poetas :
 temporibus non est apta corona meis.’
 hoc tibi dissimula, senti tamen, optime, dici, 5
 in digito qui me fersque refersque tuo,
 effigiemque meam fulvo complexus in auro
 cara relegati, quae potes, ora vides.
 quae quotiens spectas, subeat tibi dicere forsā
 ‘quam procul a nobis Naso sodalis abest!’ 10
 grata tua est pietas : sed carmina maior imago
 sunt mea, quae mando qualiacumque legas,
 carmina mutatas hominum dicentia formas,
 infelix domini quod fuga rupit opus.
 haec ego discedens, sicut bene multa meorum, 15
 ipse mea posui maestus in igne manu.
 utque cremasse suum fertur sub stipite natum
 Thestias et melior matre fuisse soror,
 sic ego non meritos mecum peritura libellos
 inposui rapidis viscera nostra rogis : 20
 vel quod eram musas, ut crimina nostra, perosus,
 vel quod adhuc crescens et rude carmen erat.
 quae quoniam non sunt penitus sublata, sed exstant,—
 pluribus exemplis scripta fuisse reor,—
 nunc precor, ut vivant et non ignava legentem 25
 otia delectent admoneantque mei.
 nec tamen illa legi poterunt patienter ab ullo,
 nesciet his summam si quis abesse manum.
 ablatum mediis opus est incudibus illud,
 defuit et scriptis ultima lima meis. 30

et veniam pro laude peto, laudatus abunde,
 non fastiditus si tibi, lector, ero.
 hos quoque sex versus, in primi fronte libelli
 si praeponendos esse putabis, habe:
 'orba parente suo quicumque volumina tangis, 35
 his saltem vestra detur in urbe locus!
 quoque magis faveas, haec non sunt edita ab ipso,
 sed quasi de domini funere rapta sui.
 quicquid in his igitur vitii rude carmen habebit,
 emendaturus, si licuisset, eram.' 40

VIII.

In caput alta suum labentur ab aequore retro
 flumina, conversis Solque recurret equis:
 terra feret stellas, caelum findetur aratro,
 unda dabit flammam, et dabit ignis aquas:
 omnia naturae praepostera legibus ibunt, 5
 parsque suum mundi nulla tenebit iter:
 omnia iam fient, fieri quae posse negabant,
 et nihil est, de quo non sit habenda fides
 haec ego vaticinor, quia sum deceptus ab illo,
 laturum misero quem mihi rebar opem. 10
 tantane te, fallax, cepere obliviam nostri,
 adflictumque fuit tantus adire timor,
 ut neque respiceres nec solarere iacentem,
 dure, neque exequias prosequerere meas?
 illud amicitiae sanctum et venerabile nomen 15
 re tibi pro vili est sub pedibusque iacet?
 quid fuit, ingenti prostratum mole sodalem
 visere et alloquio parte levare tuo,
 inque meos si non lacrimam demittere casus,
 pauca tamen ficto verba dolore pati, 20

idque, quod ignoti faciunt, vel dicere saltem,
 et vocem populi publicaque ora sequi?
 denique lugubres vultus numquamque videndos
 cernere supremo dum licuitque die,
 dicendumque semel toto non amplius aevo 25
 accipere et parili reddere voce 'vale'?
 at fecere alii nullo mihi foedere iuncti,
 et lacrimas animi signa dedere sui.
 quid, nisi convictu causisque valentibus essem
 temporis et longi iunctus amore tibi? 30
 quid, nisi tot lusus et tot mea seria nesses,
 tot nossem lusus seriaque ipse tua?
 quid, si duntaxat Romae mihi cognitus essés,
 adscitus totiens in genus omne loci?
 cunctane in aequoreos abierunt inrita ventos? 35
 cunctane Lethaeis mersa feruntur aquis?
 non ego te genitum placida reor urbe Quirini,
 urbe mea, quae iam non adeunda mihi,
 sed scopulis, Ponti quos haec habet ora sinistri,
 inque feris Scythiae Sarmaticisque iugis: 40
 et tua sunt silicis circum praecordia venae,
 et rigidum ferri semina pectus habet:
 quaeque tibi quondam tenero ducenda palato
 plena dedit nutrix ubera, tigris erat:
 aut mala nostra minus quam nunc aliena putares, 45
 duritiaeque mihi non agerere reus.
 sed quoniam accedit fatalibus hoc quoque damnis,
 ut careant numeris tempora prima suis,
 effice, peccati ne sim memor huius, et illo
 officium laudem, quo queror, ore tuum. 50

IX.

Detur inoffenso vitae tibi tangere metam,
 qui legis hoc nobis non inimicus opus.
 atque utinam pro te possent mea vota valere,
 quae pro me duros non tetigere deos!
 donec eris sospes, multos numerabis amicos: 5
 tempora si fuerint nubila, solus eris.
 aspicias, ut veniant ad candida tecta columbae,
 accipiat nullas sordida turris aves?
 horrea formicae tendunt ad inania numquam:
 nullus ad amissas ibit amicus opes. 10
 utque comes radios per solis euntibus umbra est,
 cum latet hic pressus nubibus, illa fugit:
 mobile sic sequitur fortunae lumina vulgus,
 quae simul inducta nocte teguntur, abit.
 haec precor, ut semper possint tibi falsa videri: 15
 sunt tamen eventu vera fatenda meo.
 dum stetimus, turbae quantum satis esset, habebat
 nota quidem, sed non ambitiosa domus.
 at simul impulsa est, omnes timuere ruinam,
 cautaque communi terga dedere fugae. 20
 saeva neque admiror metuunt si fulmina, quorum
 ignibus adflari proxima quaeque solent.
 sed tamen in duris remanentem rebus amicum
 quamlibet invisio Caesar in hoste probat,
 nec solet irasci,—neque enim moderatior alter— 25
 cum quis in adversis, si quid amavit, amat.
 de comite Argolici postquam cognovit Orestis,
 narratur Pyladen ipse probasse Thoas.
 quae fuit Actoridae cum magno semper Achille,
 laudari solita est Hectoris ore fides. 30

quod pius ad manes Theseus comes iret amico,
 Tartareum dicunt indoluisse deum.
 Euryali Nisique fide tibi, Turne, relata
 credibile est lacrimis inaduisse genas.
 est etiam miseris pietas, et in hoste probatur: 35
 ei mihi, quam paucos haec mea dicta movent!
 is status, haec rerum nunc est fortuna mearum,
 debeat ut lacrimis nullus adesse modus.
 at mea sunt, proprio quamvis maestissima casu,
 pectora processu facta serena tuo. 40
 hoc ego venturum iam tunc, carissime, vidi,
 ferret adhuc ista cum minus aura ratem.
 sive aliquod morum, seu vitae labe carentis
 est pretium, nemo pluris emendus erat:
 sive per ingenuas aliquis caput extulit artes, 45
 quaelibet eloquio fit bona causa tuo.
 his ego conmotus dixi tibi protinus ipsi
 'scaena manet dotes grandis, amice, tuas.'
 haec mihi non ovium fibrae tonitrusve sinistri,
 linguave servatae pennave dixit avis: 50
 augurium ratio est et coniectura futuri:
 hac divinavi notitiamque tuli.
 quae quoniam vera est, tota tibi mente mihique
 gratulor, ingenium non latuisse tuum.
 at nostrum tenebris utinam latuisset in imis! 55
 expedit studio lumen abesse meo.
 utque tibi prosunt artes, facunde, severae,
 dissimiles illis sic nocuere mihi.
 vita tamen tibi nota mea est. scis artibus illis
 auctoris mores abstinuisse sui: 60
 scis vetus hoc iuveni lusum mihi carmen, et istos,
 ut non laudandos, sic tamen esse iocos.

ergo ut defendi nullo mea posse colore,
 sic excusari crimina posse puto.
 qua potes, excusa nec amici desere causam! 65
 quo bene coepisti, sic bene semper eas.

X.

Est mihi sitque, precor, flavae tutela Minervae
 navis et a picta casside nomen habet.
 sive opus est velis, minimam bene currit ad auram,
 sive opus est remo, remige carpit iter.
 nec comites volucris contenta est vincere cursu, 5
 occupat egressas quamlibet ante rates,
 et pariter fluctus ferit atque silentia longe
 aequora, nec saevis victa madescit aquis.
 illa, Corinthiacis primum mihi cognita Cenchreis,
 fida manet trepidae duxque comesque fugae, 10
 perque tot eventus et iniquis concita ventis
 aequora Palladio numine tuta fuit.
 nunc quoque tuta, precor, vasti secet ostia Ponti,
 quasque petit, Getici litoris intret aquas.
 quae simul Aeoliae mare me deduxit in Helles, 15
 et longum tenui limite fecit iter,
 fleximus in laevum cursus, et ab Hectoris urbe
 venimus ad portus, Imbria terra, tuos.
 inde levi vento Zerynthia litora nacta
 Threïciam tetigit fessa carina Samon: 20
 saltus ab hac contra brevis est Tempyra petenti:
 hac dominum tenuis est illa secuta suum.
 nam mihi Bistonios placuit pede carpere campos:
 Hellespontiacas illa relegit aquas,
 Dardaniamque petit auctoris nomen habentem, 25
 et te ruricola, Lampsace, tuta deo,

quodque per angustas vectae male virginis undas
 Seston Abydena separat urbe fretum,
 inque Propontiacis haerentem Cyzicon oris,
 Cyzicon, Haemoniae nobile gentis opus, 30
 quaeque tenent Ponti Byzantia litora fauces:
 hic locus est gemini ianua vasta maris.
 haec, precor, evincat, propulsaque fortibus austris
 transeat instabilis strenua Cyaneas
 Thyniacosque sinus, et ab his per Apollinis urbem 35
 arta sub Anchiali moenia tendat iter.
 inde Mesembriacos portus et Odeson et arces
 praetereat dictas nomine, Bacche, tuo,
 et quos Alcathoi memorant e moenibus ortos
 sedibus his profugos constituisse larem. 40
 a quibus adveniat Miletida sospes ad urbem,
 offensi quo me detulit ira dei.
 haec si contigerint, meritae cadet agna Minervae:
 non facit ad nostras hostia maior opes.
 vos quoque, Tyndaridae, quos haec colit insula, fratres, 45
 mite, precor, duplici numen adesse viae.
 altera namque parat Symplegadas ire per artas,
 scindere Bistonias altera puppis aquas.
 vos facite, ut ventos, loca cum diversa petamus,
 illa suos habeat, nec minus illa suos. 50

XI.

Littera quaecumque est toto tibi lecta libello,
 est mihi sollicito tempore facta viae.
 aut hanc me, gelido tremere cum mense decembri,
 scribentem mediis Hadria vidit aquis:
 aut, postquam bimarem cursu superavimus Isthmon, 5
 alteraque est nostrae sumpta carina fugae.

quod facerem versus inter fera murmura ponti,
 Cycladas Aegaeas obstipuisse puto.
 ipse ego nunc miror tantis animique marisque
 fluctibus ingenium non cecidisse meum. 10
 seu stupor huic studio sive est insania nomen,
 omnis ab hac cura mens relevata mea est.
 saepe ego nimboris dubius iactabar ab Haedis,
 saepe minax Steropes sidere pontus erat,
 fuscabatque diem custos Atlantidos ursae, 15
 aut Hyadas seris hauserat auster aquis:
 saepe maris pars intus erat: tamen ipse trementi
 carmina ducebam qualiacumque manu.
 nunc quoque contenti stridunt aquilone rudentes,
 inque modum tumuli concava surgit aqua. 20
 ipse gubernator tollens ad sidera palmas
 exposcit votis, inmemor artis, opem.
 quocumque aspexi, nihil est nisi mortis imago,
 quam dubia timeo mente, timensque precor.
 attigero portum, portu terrebor ab ipso: 25
 plus habet infesta terra timoris aqua.
 nam simul insidiis hominum pelagique laboro,
 et faciunt geminos ensis et unda metus.
 ille meo vereor ne speret sanguine praedam,
 haec titulum nostrae mortis habere velit. 30
 barbara pars laeva est avidaeque adsueta rapinae,
 quam cruor et caedes bellaque semper habent:
 cumque sit hibernis agitatam fluctibus aequor,
 pectora sunt ipso turbidiora mari.
 quo magis his debes ignoscere, candide lector, 35
 si spe sunt, ut sunt, inferiora tua.
 non haec in nostris, ut quondam, scripsimus hortis,
 nec, consuete, meum, lectule, corpus habes:

iactor in indomito brumali luce profundo,
 ipsaque caeruleis charta feritur aquis. 40
 improba pugnat hiemps indignaturque, quod ausim
 scribere se rigidas incutiente minas.
 vincat hiemps hominem! sed eodem tempore, quaeso,
 ipse modum statuam carminis, illa sui.

NOTES.

In the Notes the following abbreviations are used :

R. = Roby's Latin Grammar for Schools.

R. L. Gr. = Roby's Grammar of the Latin Language from Plautus to Suetonius. (These two grammars are referred to by the sections.)

Rich = Rich's Dictionary of Roman and Greek Antiquities, Fifth Edition.

L. and S. = Lewis and Short's Latin Dictionary.

EL. I.

THIS poem, and El. xi, were written after the greater part of Book I. was completed, the one as an introduction, the other as an epilogue, to Book I. From l. 42, part, at any rate, of the poem would seem to have been written at sea; and from l. 128 (see on 126), the poet would seem to have put the finishing stroke to it, and despatched it on his arrival at Tomi (Graeber, Q. O. i. vi). Hence it is reasonable to infer that the greater part of it was written during his voyage from Samothrace to Thrace, and the conclusion added on his arrival at Tomi; whence the book was probably sent to Rome by the ship which brought him to Samothrace, and carried his effects thence to Tomi (see intr. to El. x).

SUMMARY.—Go, little book, with my message of salutation to Rome, but go in sorry binding, as befits the volume of a poor exile (1-14). Salute that happy place for me, and say that, though sick at heart, I am still alive; but attempt not the hopeless task of my defence (15-26). Perhaps one may be found who is sad with sympathy for me; if so, I wish him well. And if any find fault with thee as being of inferior workmanship, let him not criticise too severely, for my sufferings and anxiety are such as to impede the free flow of inspiration. Even Homer himself, were he in such an evil plight as mine, would lose the power of song (27-48). Yet heed not popularity, I loved it once, but now it is enough that I do not hate the power of verse that has proved my ruin (49-56). Go thou to Rome in my stead; since that is not forbidden: all will at once recognise thy master's hand

(57-68). I hardly dare bid thee seek to gain entrance to the Emperor's self; I who by my fault have provoked him am afraid lest once again I may draw down his wrath upon myself. Perhaps thou hadst best be content with a public of low degree (69-88). But in so difficult a matter I will not counsel thee; circumstances alone can direct thee aright (89-92). Perhaps some kind friend may introduce thee to the august presence; and then I wish thee all success, and pray that the imperial anger may be pacified (93-104). When thou art arrived at thy master's home, avoid those brothers of thine, the Art of Love, the murderers of their sire; say, too, that the story of my altered fortune may now be added to the changes of shape of which I have sung (105-122). This is my message; more were too great a burden for thee, for the road is long (123-128).

l. 1. *nec invideo*, 'I bear you no grudge for it.' Cic. Tusc. iv. 8. § 17, 'invidentiam esse dicunt aegritudinem susceptam propter alterius res secundas, quae nihil noceant invidenti.'

l. 2. *quod licet*. Indic., because the writer's opinion is directly stated: R. 741. The form of expression is common with Ov.; cp. *infr.* 112; 6. 29.

l. 3. *exulis*, sc. *librum*.

l. 4. *temporis huius*, 'wear in thy woe the attire that befits this hour.'

ll. 5-8. 'Be not thy wrapper of the bilberry's purple hue, that colour assorts not well with sorrow: let no vermeil stain thy letter-piece, thy page no cedar oil; bear thou no white bosses on thy sable edge.'

For a full account of the structure of the ancient book, and of the terms used in the present passage, see Appendix, *ad loc.*

l. 5. *vaccinium* is probably the bilberry, the purple juice of whose berries was smeared upon the parchment. Vergil, Ecl. ii. 18, speaks of '*vaccinia nigra*' with reference to the dark external appearance of the berry; Ovid adds *purpureo fuco* because it is with the colouring matter that he is concerned.

l. 9. 'Let such equipments as these furnish forth the volumes of the fortunate.'

l. 12. *sparsis*, applied to hair, means 'disordered,' 'dishevelled,' and is a stronger word than *passis* (pt. of *pando*), wrongly read here by Gütthling, which means simply unloosened, and is applied to women only (see Forcell.); whereas in Ovid's imagery books are always males.

l. 14. Perhaps a reminiscence of Prop. iv. (v.) 3. 4, '*Haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis.*'

l. 15. *verbis meis* = 'meo nomine,' 'for me;' Cic. ad Att. xvi. 11. 8, '*Atticae meis verbis suavium des volo.*' Liv. xxii. 58. 9.

l. 16. 'At least I'll touch them with what foot I may.' There is a play on the double meaning of *pes*: though I may not touch Roman soil with the foot of my body, I may yet do so with the foot of my verse. *Pes* means the metre, not the foot in our sense; so in Ibis 45 he says of the elegiac metre:

'Prima quidem coepto committam proelia versu,
non soleant quamvis hoc pede bella geri.'

For another play upon words see *infr.* 11. 16, and cp. iv. 5. 7, '*cuius eram censu non me sensurus egentem.*'

l. 17. *in populo*, 'as may well be in the crowd,' a brachylogy common with Ovid: cp. ii. 158, '*cuius, ut in populo, pars ego nuper eram;*' P. i. 7. 16, '*in quibus, ut populo, pars ego parva fui;*' iv. 5. 11, '*siquis, ut in populo, qui sitis et unde, requiret.*' See Verg. Aen. i. 148.

illi is the primitive form of *illic* (cp. *isti*), found again in ii. 373, '*quid prius est illi flamma Briseidos?*' F. vi. 424, '*hoc superest illi, Pallada Roma tenet:*' frequent in Plaut. and Ter., and occurring also in Cic. Fam. viii. 15. 2 (Neue Formenlehre, ii. 629).

With *illi* supply *est*: the omission of the substantive verb is common with Ovid; see *inf.* 21. 56; 2. 102; 5. 53; 8. 38; iv. 4. 45, 53; v. 7. 52; 14. 31.

l. 18. *requiret*. The subj. would be more usual, cp. *inf.* 66, but the indic. is not uncommon in poets after such expressions as *est (sunt) qui*, used to define existing persons or classes. R. 703, 707.

l. 19. *salvum*, 'well.' Cp. the ordinary salutation, '*salvum salvas?*'

l. 20. *quod* is the causal conjunction, which naturally takes an indic. in a subordinate clause like the present, denoting a fact in apposition to the object of the verb *habere*. (Professor Nettleship quotes Hor. C. iv. 3. 24, '*quod spiro ac placeo, si placeo, tuum est*'); here the subj. is used because these words *are to be reported* by the Book as the words of its master.

l. 21. 'And these injunctions given, then silent—he that asks more must read—beware lest thou chance to speak what thou shouldst not.' *Ita* is restrictive, qualifying *tacitus*: see L. and S. s. v. *ita*, II. D. *Ita tacitus = his dictis tacitus*: silent, but only after having uttered the instructions I have just given. *legendum*, sc. *est*.

l. 22. *Quae* is acc., object to *loqui*, understood.

l. 23. *repetet*, sc. *cogitando*, 'will go back to' in his thoughts, i. e. will recall. *Inf.* 3. 3.

mea crimina, 'my offences.' The plural is either used loosely or may refer to the two offences he had committed against Augustus, (1) the writing of the *Ars Amatoria*, (2) the unknown offence. Cp. *inf.* 2. 96.

l. 24. *Peragere reum* is the legal phrase for to continue a prosecu-

tion till the defendant is condemned. Translate: 'I shall be proved guilty as a state-offender in the people's mouth:' cp. P. 6. iv. 30, 'posse tuo peragi vix putet ore reos.' [Cael. ap. Cic. Fam. viii. 8. 1.—H. J. R.] The sense is, However much you hear me criticised you must not defend me. *Agere reum*, on the other hand (inf. 8. 46, P. iv. 14. 38), is simply to accuse a man. For *publicus*, cp. Cic. ad Fam. vi. 6. 7, where *augur publicus* = 'a political prophet.'

l. 25. *cavē*. This word and *vidē* are the only such imperatives whose final *e* is shortened in classical writers; though the scansion is common in Plaut. and Ter., and the licence is greatly enlarged by Christian writers (Lucian Müller, *De re metr.* p. 340).

defendas, jussive subj. in quasi-dependence on *cave*.

quamvis mordebere. *Quamvis* with *indic.*, common in Ovid, is post-Ciceronian: R. 677 d. Wilkins on Hor. Epp. i. 14. 6.

l. 26. *patrocinio*, instrum. abl., 'through advocacy.' *maior* = 'difficilior,' as in Cic. Cat. mai. § 1, 'quarum consolatio et maior est et in aliud tempus differenda.'

l. 27. *ademptum*, a word specially used of those taken away by death; to which Ovid is fond of likening his banishment (inf. 113 n.) Cp. iv. 10. 79, 'non aliter flevi [sc. his dead brother] quam me fleturus ademptum Ille fuit.'

l. 28. *ista*, these verses on your pages. Contrast *ille* (31), 'that far friend of mine unknown.' Note the elegance with which the burden of v. 30 is amplified and enforced in vv. 32-34.

l. 32. *miseris*, quite general, 'the wretched,' with his own case specially in view.

l. 33. *Princeps*, not to be confounded with *princeps senatus*, was the informal appellation which the acute moderation of Augustus led him to choose as his distinctive citizen-title. He was the *foremost citizen* of Rome, and so describes himself in the Mon. Anc. ii. 45; vi. 6. Thus Tacitus (A. 1. 1.) says of him, 'cuncta discordiis civilibus fessa nomine principis sub imperium accepit.'

l. 34. The ancients, like the modern Chinese, regarded it as ill-omened to die in a foreign land. See the touching prayer of Tibullus (i. 3) when sick at Corcyra, that he may not die away from home.

det, with *infin.* as object, R. 534.

l. 35. *ut*, concessive, as inf. 61. ii. 43.

l. 36. *ingenii*, possessive gen., 'And you will be said to fall short of the fame won by my genius.' *Ferere*, sc. *omnium sermonibus* (L. and S. s.v. II. A. 7.), cp. v. 14. 3, 'Detrahat auctori multum fortuna, licebit: Tu tamen ingenio clara ferere meo.' He then proceeds to show cause why he may well fall short of his former excellence.

l. 37. *iudicis*, the judge, and so the critic. [With *tempora rerum* Prof. Nettleship compares Verg. Aen. vii. 36, 'quae tempora rerum.']

l. 39. *deducta*, metaphor from drawing out the threads from the distaff. Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 225; Prop. i. 16. 41. For *tempora* cp. inf. 9. 6. *Serenus* = dry, and so cloudless, is contrasted with *nubila*. Translate: 'Verses are produced when drawn from an untroubled mind; my days are clouded over with sudden misfortunes. Verses demand retirement and ease in their writer; I am tossed to and fro by sea and winds and the wild storm. Verses have no part in any kind of fear; I, a ruined man, am every moment thinking that the sword will touch my throat.' Juvenal (7. 53-73) has finely enlarged upon the commonplace that the poet should be free from the fears and anxieties of the vulgar. The sentiment is repeated with mournful insistence, v. 12. 3, 'carmina laetum Sunt opus et pacem mentis habere volunt.'

l. 47. *da mihi*, etc., 'Give me a Homer's self—marking well my many sorrows—and all his powers will fail him in the presence of such heavy woes.' The sufferings I am exposed to are enough to have chilled the poetic fire of Homer himself (P. iv. 2. 21):

'Si quis in hac ipsum terra possuisset Homerum;
esset, crede mihi, factus et ille Getes.'

The expression *da mihi* is a general formula, not addressed to the reader personally, equivalent to 'if I were to become Homer.' So P. iv. 1. 17:

'Da mihi, si quid ea est, hebetantem pectora Lethen,
oblitus potero non tamen esse tui.'

Rem. 63, 64. The imperative contains the protasis to a *condit.* sentence, which in its simple form would run 'Si dabis mihi Maeoniden et tot casus circumspicies—excidet,' etc. Cp. Am. i. 10. 64, 'quod nego poscenti, desine velle (= si desines velle) dabo;' Job i. 11, 'Put forth thine hand now, and touch all that he hath, and he will curse thee to thy face.' *tantis malis*, abl. of instr., *excidet* being equivalent to a passive verb; cp. ii. 32, xi. 9, and 27.

Maeoniden (Milton, P. L. iii. 35), a name of Homer, either because Smyrna in Lydia, anciently called Maeonia, was one of the towns that claimed his birthplace; or, more probably, because Maeon, a legendary king of Lydia, was his putative father (Aristotle ap. Pseudo-plutarch, *de vita et poesi Homeri*, i. 3).

l. 49. *famae securus* = *sine cura fama*, 'without a thought for fame.'

l. 50. ['nor be ashamed if you do not please when read.—H. J. R.]

l. 53. 'Titulus' meant originally merely 'an inscription,' but it is used especially of one recording exploits, inscribed on statues, or tombstones, or trophies. Hence, as here, it passes into the general sense of 'fame;'

thus *tituli amor* = 'laudis amor' (v. 12. 38), and inf. xi. 30, 'nostrae mortis titulus' = 'the distinction of having slain me.' Contrast l. 7 and l. 67, where 'titulus' = 'lettering-piece' (Appendix on l. 5).

l. 56. *sic* is explained by *ingenio meo*, 'it was thus, even by my poet's vein, that exile came.'

l. 58. *facerent*, the optative use of the subj., R. 666, with a dependent jussive subj. (*possem*), expressing the wish, following it, R. 672. [Cp. M. viii. 72, 'di facerent, sine patre forem.'—H. J. R.] Both this construction with *facere*, and *ut* with a consecutive subj. are found; compare e. g. Catull. lxxviii. 46, 'facite haec carta loquatur anus' with cix. 3, 'Di magni, facite ut vere promittere possit.'

The two optative expressions 'di faciant' (H. ii. 66; xiii. 94; Am. ii. 10. 30; Rem. 785; T. iv. 7. 9; v. 13. 17; P. i. 2. 97; 4. 48; iii. 1. 137; iv. 4. 47; 9. 3; Ib. 351) and 'di facerent' (H. x. 133; xv. 157; T. v. 4. 13) are frequent in Ovid, the former denoting the wish as attainable, the latter as unattainable.

l. 61. *ut*, sup. 35, n.

l. 63. *intrato*, imperat.

carmina, the *Ars Amatoria*, which alone of his poems prejudiced him in the eyes of Augustus.

l. 66. *e gremio*. The ancients usually reclined while reading, and rested the book upon the lap. Cp. 11. 38, n.

l. 69. *expectes*, subj. of reported question after *forsitan*.

palatia. There is no reference here to the great Palatine library in the temple of Apollo, as in P. i. 1. 5; but the locality simply is meant, as in iv. 2. 3, 'altaque velentur fortasse Palatia sertis.' Augustus had a palace on the Palatine, near which, or in the adjacent Velia, also were temples of the tutelary gods of Rome—Juppiter Stator, Juppiter Victor, Juno Sospita, Apollo, Vesta, the Lares and Penates. See Merivale, v. 24 ff. Burn, Rome and the Campagna, ch. viii. Hence the words *augusta loca dique locorum*, though, of course, Augustus there is specially meant.

l. 72. *fulmen*, his sentence of banishment.

arce, 'high place,' as in Verg. Geor. ii. 535; Aen. vii. 696. It is from the *arx caeli* that Juppiter, from the *arx Palati* that Augustus hurls his bolts. Cp. v. 3. 19, 'ipse quoque aetherias meritis invectus es arces, Quo non exiguo facta labore via est.'

l. 75 ff. Cp. M. vi. 527 ff.:

'Illa tremit, velut agna pavens, quae saucia cani
ore excussa lupi nondum sibi tuta videtur,
utque columba suo madefactis sanguine plumis
horret adhuc avidosque timet, quibus haeserat, ungues.'

l. 75. The burnt child fears the fire.

l. 78. [*excussa*, not 'snatched from,' but 'dropped from,' in consequence of a blow or some surprise. *Excutio* properly means *to strike* or *knock out*.—H. Nettleship.] Cp. *excidet*, l. 48, which is virtually the passive of 'excutio;' and to M. quoted above add Cic. p. Mur. § 30, 'omnia ista nobis studia de manibus excutiuntur.'

l. 79. *vitaret*, 'would have ever avoided if he had continued to live.' [For the use of the imperf. subj. applied in a conditional sentence to times past and gone (a reference necessitated by the plup. *optarat*), comp. Cic. Cluent. § 61, 'quid enim tandem illi iudices responderent, si quis ab iis quaereret? condemnastis,' etc. = 'What could they have answered, had anyone asked them?'—H. Nettleship.]

Phaethon gained permission from his father Phoebus to drive the chariot of the sun for a day, and being unable to control the horses lost his life. The legend is told in M. ii. 1 ff.

l. 80. *optarat*, 'he had once wished for,' i. e. at the time when he ascended his father's chariot. Ovid frequently uses the pluperfect to emphasise that the time spoken of is now past and done with; thus it lays stress on the fact that the time spoken of was long ago. See iii. 11. 25; v. 5. 3; v. 12. 30.

l. 82. *infesto igne*, instrum. abl.

l. 83. Nauplius, the father of Palamedes, in revenge for the death of his son, hung out false lights on the promontory of Caphereus in Euboea, and thus caused the shipwreck of the Greek fleet on its return from Troy. Cp. v. 7. 35, 'quaeque modo Euboicis lacerata est fluctibus, audet Graia Capheream currere puppis aquam;' Prop. iii. (iv.) 7. 39:

'Saxa triumphales fregere Capherea puppes,
naufraga cum vasto Graecia tracta salo est.'

l. 85. *vasta*, 'desolating.' The word implies that in which nothing lives (Munro, Lucr. 1. 722). Cp. Verg. Aen. vii. 302, 'vasta Charybdis.'

l. 86. *quo* = in quo, poetic.

l. 87. *ergo*. See Appendix *ad loc.*

l. 88. *ut sit*. The consecutive subj. restricts the meaning of the previous words; though in such a case it is common for *ita* to precede *ut*, still, as in inf. 3. 101, iv. 4. 4, *ut* frequently stands without *ita* (R. 714c.). We must not press the inconsistency of his saying here that he must be content with a humble public, as compared with 91, where he says that it is hard for him to advise whether his book shall seek to gain the Emperor's ear. A poet is not logical; his verse reflects the varying moods of his mind; and such an inconsistency is quite in keeping with his nature. (Cp. on 115 inf.). Translate: 'Be then so cautious and careful in thy timorous heart that to be read by those of low degree alone content thee.'

media plebs, in the sense of moderate, ordinary people, is frequent in Ovid. Cp. ii. 351, 'media de plebe maritus;' v. 7. 54; F. v. 20; M. v. 207; xi. 283.

l. 90. Icarus was provided with wings by his father Daedalus to fly from Crete; but approaching too near the sun, the waxen fastenings of his wings were melted, and he fell down into the sea north of Crete, to which he gave his name. See M. viii. 183 ff.

l. 91. **hinc**, from this place far away from Rome. Cp. P. i. 5. 71, 'nec reor hinc istuc nostris iter esse libellis.'

utaris, dependent interrogative, jussive subj., R. 674 b. As one not present could not advise the skipper of a ship whether on any particular occasion he should use oars or sails, so Ovid, far away in exile, cannot advise as to what it is best for his book to do at Rome.

l. 93. **vacuo** ('unoccupied'), i. e. Augustus, who has been mentioned as Jupiter in line 81. With *cuncta mitia* cp. 73.

l. 96. **tamen** expresses a consolatory thought qualifying **pauca**, 'though it were but a few words.' Cp. inf. 8. 20. [Cic. Quinct. § 71, 'quia tamen aliquem . . . advocare poterat;' Rosc. Am. § 8, 'quam ob rem videantur nonnihil tamen . . . secuti;' Cluent. § 22, 'tamen unum;' Cat. iii. § 10, 'Cethegus, qui paulo ante aliquid tamen de gladiis et sicis . . . respondisset.'—H. Nettleship.]

l. 100. Telephus, king of Mysia, was wounded by the spear of Achilles, in opposing the march of the Greeks to Troy. An oracle declared that the spear which gave the wound, alone could cure it; and in consequence of another oracle that without his aid the Greeks could not take Troy, Telephus was reconciled to Achilles, and was cured by a poultice made from the rust of the spear. Cp. ii. 19:

'Forsitan ut quondam Teuthrantia regna tenenti,
sic mihi res eadem vulnus opemque feret.'

v. 2. 15:

'Telephus aeterna consumptus tabe perisset,
si non quae nocuit dextra tulisset opem.'

l. 103. **resaeviat**, a word coined by Ovid and apparently an *ἀραξ εἰρημένον*.

l. 104. **sis cave**. Cp. on 25.

l. 105. **penetrabile**, poetical for *cubiculum*, the study or 'sanctum' in which Ovid wrote. See Rich. s. v. *Cubiculum*. Cp. iii. 12. 53:

'Di facite, ut Caesar non hic penetrabile domumque,
hospitium poenae sed velit esse meae.'

l. 106. **scrinia curva**. See supr. 5, n. (in Appendix).

l. 107. **fratres** (thus personified in iii. 1. 65, 'Quaerebam fratres,

exceptis scilicet illis, Quos suus optaret non genuisse pater;' cp. supr. 12, n.), his other published works. They were the Amores, Remedium Amoris, Medicamina formae, Heroides, Medea (a lost tragedy), Ars Amatoria, and Metamorphoses (unfinished). The Fasti, Ibis, and Epistulae ex Ponto had not appeared yet; and the fragment Halieuticon was published after his death.

l. 108. **evigilavit**, 'prepared with elaborate care,' lit. 'with midnight watchings (*vigiliae*).'

l. 109. **titulos**, supr. 5, n. (in Appendix).

l. 110. 'And wear their names on their uncovered brows;' i. e. when their *frons* has been uncovered by the case (*membrana*) being opened.

l. 112. **hi (sunt ei) qui quod . . . docent**.

l. 113. As the poet is the parent of his poems (115), so those poems which procured his banishment are virtually parricides. For banishment is as bad as death to him (supr. 27, n.; Ibis 16); and his last hours at Rome are described as his funeral, inf. 3. 22 and 89; so *exsequiis*, inf. 118.

Oedipus was exposed by his father Laius on account of an oracle which declared that he should kill his father. But he was saved, and when arrived at manhood he met Laius on the road between Delphi and Daulis, and killed him unknowingly. A similar fate befell Telegonus, a son of Ulysses by Circe. He was sent by his mother to find his father; and being driven by a storm to land at Ithaca, and compelled to support his followers by ravaging the country, he was attacked by Ulysses, whom he killed with a spear tipped with the bone of a sea-fish. Ibis 567. Thus Horace C. iii. 29. 8, speaks of 'Telegoni iuga parricidae.'

oris, 'effrontery,' a meaning common in Cicero. The colloquialism 'to have the face to do a thing,' corresponds to the Latin metaphor, and was once admitted in standard English (Wilkins on Cic. de Or. i. 175). Cp. P. i. 1. 80, 'plus isto duri, si precer, oris ero.'

l. 115. Here again the train of thought is that of a poet rather than a logician. The books of the Ars are to be called parricides (114), and are not to be loved by their brother for all that their subject is the Art of Love. A parricide would naturally not be loved, it is true; but the addition of the timid warning to resist the lessons of those who teach how to love, is a negligence of writing quite Ovidian; cp. on 88 supr.

l. 116. **quamvis**, with indic.; see supr. 25, n.

l. 117. **mutatae formae**, 'the changes of shape,' nom. in apposition to *ter q. v.* In El. vii. he says that in the first transport of his grief at the news of his banishment he burnt the Metamorphoses, but that his friends had preserved copies, which may thus be described as rescued

from burning at his funeral. The fifteen books are written on fifteen different rolls, according to the usual practice (supr. 5, n. in Appendix).

l. 119. *dicas*, jussive subj. depending on *mando*. Cp. on 25. Translate: 'Them I bid thee tell that among the changes of bodies may be reckoned the now changed features of my Fortune.'

l. 123. *mandare*, infin., poetically used in imitation of the Greek idiom, R. 540. 3.

l. 125. Note the conditional sequence and force of the tenses. The fut. part. depending on the auxiliary verb, in the apodosis, expresses probability or possibility. 'If you were carrying with you all the thoughts that *keep occurring* to me, you would *be likely to be* a heavy burden.' For the form of conditional sentence see on 6. 14.

l. 126. *laturo*, probably the book was carried to Rome by one of the sailors of the ship that carried his goods to Tomi (he himself went from Tempyra in Thrace by land; inf. xi. introd.), for the next couplet seems to imply that he had already arrived, hence *habitabitur orbis ultimus* will mean 'the world's end will now be my home,' not 'will soon be my home,' as it is explained by those who consider that this book was written from Thrace before he arrived at Tomi.

eras, the indic. is used because not the occurrence of the act but its probability is stated, R. 643, c.

l. 127. *nobis* is dat. of agent.

EL. II.

Written during a storm on the Ionian sea. Sir Aston Cokain had this description in his mind; Tragedy of Ovid, Act ii. Sc. 1:

Han. From Ostia we have had a voyage hither
so fraught with storms and tempests, that I wonder
the sea-gods—

Cac. the sea-monsters call them rather—

Han. were not all tired with using so much rage
on us, etc.

SUMMARY.—Ye gods of sea and sky, spare me and save me from the storm. The divine Caesar, it is true, is angry; but it is the custom of the gods to support a stricken mortal against a fellow-god's wrath (1-12). Ah! poor wretch! my words fall unavailing: the tempest gathers force, and the wild winds whirl away my sails and supplications alike unheeding. The very pilot is distracted, and each wave that breaks seems destined to engulf us (13-36). My dear wife's sorrow is all for my exile; little she knows that death by shipwreck is likely to be my portion. Still, if I die, half of myself survives in her (37-44).

Thunder and lightning is added to the horrors of the hour. Death I do not dread, but only death by shipwreck. He that dies on land can cheer himself with the hope of burial: his body will not be food for the monsters of the deep. Save me, ye gods, and these that are my fellows, for they at least have not deserved such a death. Nay, my very judge did not condemn me to death, as he easily might have done, but only to exile. Exile is surely punishment enough (45-74). I am not sailing in search of wealth or pleasure; Tomi, on the shores of the Euxine, is my destination (75-86). Whether you hate or love me, you surely will bring me safe to the port that Caesar has ordained (87-94). I have deserved my sentence I know, yet my guilt was not wilful. If I have always been a humble supporter of the house of Caesar, then spare me, if not, overwhelm me in the deep. Lo! I am not deceived; you have heard my prayer, and are vouchsafing to abate the storm (95-110).

l. 1. The *di maris* are invoked as controlling the seas, the *di caeli* as supreme over the wind; cp. 59, *superi viridesque dei*.

supersunt, P. iv. 2. 45, 'Quid, nisi Pierides, solacia frigida, *restant*.' The pl. number is due to two considerations: (1) grammatical attraction to the nearest subst., and (2) to the emphasis being on *vota*. Conversely, in M. xiv. 396, 'nec quicquam antiquum Pico, nisi nomina, *restat*,' the verb is not attracted to the number of *nomina* because the stress is on *quicquam antiquum*, 'nothing of his former self is left to Pico.'

l. 2. *membra*, 'pieces.' Ibis 17 and 278.

l. 3. *subscribite*, 'give your support to.' *Subscribere* properly means to act as *subscriptor*, a subordinate advocate for the prosecution. Cic. div. in Caec. § 47, 'ipse nihil est, nihil potest: at venit paratus cum subscriptoribus exercitatis et disertis.'

l. 4. Caesar has already been mentioned as a god, I. 71 and 81.

l. 5. The illustrations are taken from the Iliad (5-6), the Aeneid (7-8), and the Odyssey (9-10). Turnus, King of the Rutulians, was robbed of his bride Lavinia by Aeneas (who came to Latium after the sack of Troy), and led the Italians in the war against the invading Trojans. Milton, P. L. ix. 16, 'rage Of Turnus for Lavinia disespoused; Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long Perplex'd the Greek, and Cytherea's son.'

l. 8. *numine*, 'protection,' abl. instr. Inf. x. 12.

l. 9. *cautum* is meant to express the standing epithets of Ulysses, the shrewd and patient hero of the Odyssey, *πολύτροπος, πολύμητις*, who is always able by his cleverness to find an escape from the greatest

perils. Neptune's anger against Ulysses was caused partly because he had killed his grandson Palamedes, and partly because he had blinded his son, the Cyclops Polyphemus.

l. 10. Cp. inf. 5. 76.

l. 11. *quamvis*, with indic. i. 25, n. 'Though I am of far humbler degree than they.'

l. 17. *ne causa laedar in una*, 'that I may not be injured in one respect alone;' i. e. that I may be injured not only by banishment, but also by storm. *In* = 'in respect of.' Cp. inf. 66, 'in hoc;' 5. 39, n.

l. 20. *sidera summa*, for the hyperbole cp. Verg. Aen. i. 102, 'procella . . . fluctus ad sidera tollit.' This passage and M. xi. 497, 'Fluctibus erigitur caelumque aequare videtur Pontus et inductas adspersine tangere nubes,' are elaborations in Ovid's manner of Vergil's idea.

l. 21. 'How huge the valleys that sink down as the level of the sea is separated.'

l. 22. Again from Verg. Aen. iii. 564, 'Tollimur in caelum curvato gurgite, et idem Subducta ad Manis imos desedimus unda.'

l. 23. See Appendix *ad loc.*

l. 24. *hic . . . ille*, the sea, being nearer to the speaker than the clouds, is constructed, contrary to ordinary usage, with the nearer demonstrative: cp. inf. 9. 12; Cic. p. Sull. § 8; and for the ordinary use inf. 11. 29.

l. 28. *sero vespere missus*, 'sped from the twilight west.' *Vesper* opposed to *ortus*, is the west here, as in M. i. 63, 'Vesper et occiduo quae litora sole tepescunt Proxima sunt zephyro.' Cp. Verg. Aen. v. 19. It is called *serus* because the latest hours of day are spent there, and the day dies there. 'Serus vespere,' in the different sense of 'late evening,' is found in M. iv. 415: so 'sera crepuscula,' M. i. 219. By a violation of the laws of nature, common in ancient poets, all the winds are represented here as raging simultaneously in order to intensify the picture of the violence of the storm. See Conington on Geor. i. 315; Aen. i. 85.

l. 29. *sicca arcto*, not 'the dry north,' because of the dryness of the north wind, but 'the bear that never dips in ocean,' because the northern constellation of the Bear never sets, or sinks beneath the horizon of the sea: iii. 10. 3, 'Suppositum stellis numquam tangentibus aequor Me sciat in media vivere barbaria;' iv. 3. 3, 'Magna minorque ferae [the greater and lesser Bear] . . . omnia cum summo positae videatis in axe, Et maris occiduas non subeatis aquas.' Cp. Il. xviii. 489; Verg. Geor. i. 246. (For the legend see inf. on 3. 48.)

l. 30. *adversa fronte*, 'with brow that meets his brother's,' i. e. face to face.

l. 31. *fugatve petatve*, interrogative, jussive subjunctives depending on *quid*, 'what he is to avoid, what to make for,' R. 674 b. So *pareat* supr. l. 26.

l. 32. *ambiguus*, etc., 'his very skill is dazed before the distracting horrors.' *Ambiguus malis* is abl. of instr., cp. i. 47, n.

l. 34. *unda*, 'a wave,' as inf. 106.

l. 37. *me dolet exule*, 'is pained by my being an exile.' In prose we should have expected 'quam me exulem esse.' Inf. v. 41, n. *Me exule* is abl. of cause.

l. 39. *corpora*, 'my body,' rhetorical use of plural for sing., very common in Ovid. So 'corpora,' infra 91; 'vultus meos,' 94. Cp. 3. 8, and 29; 4. 8: 9. 35; v. 4. 21, and 29; 6. 21; 8. 35. This rhetorical use of the plural, though more common in poetry, is found also in prose; see Halm on Cic. Rosc. Am. § 96, and De imp. Pomp. § 33 (where *liberos* = one daughter). Tac. A. vi. 34. 3 (where *liberos* = one son, see Orelli).

l. 41. *O bene*, sc. *est*, by a not uncommon ellipsis.

l. 43. *ut*, concessive, i. 35, n.

l. 44. *dimidia parte*, so he says of his brother's death, iv. 10. 32, 'coepi parte carere mei;' P. i. 8. 1, 'salutem Accipe, pars animae magna, Severe, meae;' and Hor. Od. i. 3. 8, addressing the ship that is to carry Vergil, 'serves animae dimidium meae.'

l. 46. *aethereo axe*, heaven's zenith. *Axis* is the imaginary line drawn from one pole of heaven, passing through the earth, and meeting the other pole; and is often used, as here, for the pole itself, the zenith: hence the conventional translations 'cope,' 'canopy,' or 'firmament,' convey an incorrect idea. So in iv. 8. 41, 'axis boreus' = 'the northern zenith of heaven,' and so perhaps v. 2. 64 (but see 3. 48, n.) *Axis* is also used for the 'axis' of the earth, or any other heavenly constellation, 3. 48, n. (Forcell. explains *axis* here as equivalent to *totum caelum*) as in Aen. iv. 482; Stat. Theb. v. 86; x. 7; 8.)

l. 48. The *ballista* (*πετροβόλος*) was an engine used to shoot stones, while the *catapulta* (*καταπέλτης*) shot darts. Dict. A. 1138 B. Cp. M. xi. 507:

'Saepe dat ingentem fluctu latus icta fragorem:
nec levius pulsata sonat, quam ferreus olim
cum laceras aries ballistave concutit arces.'

l. 50. Every tenth wave was supposed by the Romans to be the largest (and was called *fluctus decumanus*, Lucil. 3. 28 M.), as by the Greeks every third (*τρικνμία*, Plat. Rep. 472 a; Aesch. Prom. 1015). Festus, p. 71. 5 M, 'Decumana ova dicuntur et decumani fluctus, quia sunt magna: nam et ovorum decumum maius nascitur, et fluctus decu-

mus fieri maximus dicitur.' Cp. *ibid.* p. 47 M. For the conceit of this line compare—

‘Of all the days that’s in the week,
I dearly love but one day—
and that’s the day that comes betwixt
a Saturday and Monday.’

l. 51. ‘I do not fear death; but the kind of death is one to arouse pity.’

l. 52. *demite*, imperat. in protasis of condit. sentence: i. 47, n.

ll. 53–56. ‘It is somewhat when falling at the beck of fate and by the sword still to lay down one’s dying frame on firm earth, and to give some last injunctions to one’s kinsfolk, and to hope for burial, and not to be food for the fishes of the sea.’

est aliquid = it is something worth having; a common phrase with Ovid: cp. H. iii. 131; iv. 29; F. vi. 27; P. ii. 7. 65; 8. 9.

fato and *ferro* are instr. ablatives. For a fuller explanation see Appendix.

l. 55. *aliqua*, some kind of instructions however hasty and inadequate: Pont. i. 1. 4, ‘dumque *aliquo*, quolibet abde loco;’ F. iii. 598, ‘*aliquam* corpore pressit humum’ (‘dry land of some kind,’ even though the grave). There is perhaps a specimen of such last instructions of a soldier in Prop. i. 21, where they are given by the dying Gallus, killed in the Perusine War, to a comrade to carry to his sister. There may be a reference to the *testamentum in prosinctu*, a will made verbally by soldiers on the eve of battle in the presence of three or four witnesses, and which was legally valid.

l. 57. *fingite* = *etiamsi fingitis*: i. 47, n.

l. 58. *hic*, here on the high seas.

For the idea of the punishment of a ship’s crew for the guilt of one cp. Hor. Od. iii. 2. 26 ff.; Jonah i. 14.

l. 59. *superi* = *di caeli*, supr. i. *virides* = *di maris*, the gods of the green sea (‘*caerulei numina ponti*,’ 4. 25); H. 5. 57, ‘*virides Nereidas oro*.’ ‘*Viridis aqua*’ (of the sea), is found in A. A. i. 402, iii. 130.

l. 62. *iussa*, emphatic, what Caesar has ordered you must not oppose: cp. inf. 89. See what St. Paul says, Acts xxvii. 24.

feram, jussive subj. depending on *sinite*.

l. 63. ‘If too you are minded to destroy me with that punishment which I have deserved, still remember that, even though Caesar’s self is my judge, my punishment is lighter than death.’

quoque introduces a fresh thought.

l. 67. *invidiosa*; join with *illi*, the dat. of indirect object usual with *invidere*, standing here with the adjective, which is passive in meaning,

‘the power of shedding my blood is not an object worth envying him.’ *Invidiosa* = *invidia digna*, taking ‘*invidia*’ in a good sense, as in M. vi. 275, ‘*Et mediam tulerat gressus resupina per urbem Invidiosa suis, at nunc miseranda vel hosti;*’ Prop. ii. 1. 73, ‘*Maecenas nostrae pars invidiosa iuventae.*’ (It might be taken in the bad sense of ‘worth grudging him.’)

l. 69. *putō*, i. 87, n., in Appendix.

The argument is, If Caesar, whom I did injure, did not kill me, you, whom I did not injure, should certainly be content with my present state of misfortune.

l. 71. *ut*, concessive, sup. 43, inf. 73, 74.

l. 72. See Appendix.

l. 73. *ferentibus*, ‘favouring winds,’ is after Verg. Geor. ii. 311; Aen. iii. 473.

l. 76. *mutandis mercibus*, dat. of the work contemplated: ‘*Mutare*,’ of a merchant bartering his wares, occurs in Verg. Ecl. iv. 39, ‘*nec nautica pinus Mutabit merces.*’

l. 77. *petō*, i. 87, n., in Appendix. *studiosus*, sc. *litterarum*.

Athens, the most famous seat of learning in the ancient world, was the fashionable educational resort of young Romans.

l. 78. Asia Minor was celebrated for its splendid cities (‘*claras Asiae urbes*,’ Catull. 46. 6), which Josephus reckoned at five hundred. These Ovid had already visited in company with his friend Macer, P. ii. 10. 21, ‘*te duce magnificas Asiae perspeximus urbes.*’ The construction is, ‘*Non (peto) oppida Asiae, non (peto) loca visa prius,*’ the second half of the line being added as a further explanation of the first.

The somewhat harsh repetition of negatives is intended to lay stress on the melancholy nature of his present journey, which has nothing of pleasure or interest for its object.

l. 79. The constr. is *non (proficiscor) ut . . . videam*; the idea of ‘going’ being implied in *peto*. The ellipsis is rather harsh.

l. 80. *delicias* = ‘amusements.’ For the rough and wild festivity of Alexandria Mr. Roby refers to Mayor on Iuv. xv. 46. Cp. Mart. iv. 42. 3, ‘*Niliacis primum puer is nascatur in oris: Nequitias tellus scit dare nulla magis.*’

iocose, ‘gay.’ Alexandria was one of the most luxurious cities of the ancient world.

l. 81. *quod*, ‘whereas,’ R. 743.

possit, hypothetical subj. with a suppressed condition: ‘Who could believe it (if he were asked)?’

l. 83. *obligor*, ‘I am under an obligation to reach,’ i. e. I am compelled to reach (cp. our colloquialism ‘to be bound to do a thing’).

Caesar's sentence had rendered the obligation of reaching Pontus imperative upon Ovid.

laevi, i. e. the west, which to one entering from the Propontis, and looking northward, is on the left: inf. 8. 39; 4. 18 n.

fera, inhospitable to mariners on account of its stormy nature and the savageness of its inhabitants; inf. 10. 41, n.

l. 84. *quod sit*, subj., because this is the burden of his complaint.

l. 85. *nescio quo in orbe*, 'in some obscure corner of the world.'

l. 86. *exilem*, 'short,' 'I make my travel short by means of my prayers.' Cp. M. vi. 143, 'in latere exiles digiti pro cruribus haerent.' Senec. N. Q. i. 1, 'ignes tenuissimi iter exile designant.'

l. 88. *prona*, 'favourable.'

l. 89. *magis* = 'potius,' this alternative being substituted for the former. It is used so in Lucr. ii. 428, 869; Catull. lxxviii. 30; Verg. Ecl. i. 11.

iussae, 62.

l. 90. *est in regione*, 'the place is part of my punishment.' Cp. iii. 10. 75 ff.

l. 91. *corpora*, supr. 39, n.

l. 92. Ausonia was originally the district round Beneventum and Cales, but later was used poetically as a general name of Italy.

l. 95. *quae damnaverit*, 'inasmuch as he has condemned them,' subj. of attendant circumstances, R. 718.

l. 96. *crimina*, 'misdeeds,' i. 23 n.

fas = what is right, in the sense of what complies with the divine laws; *pium* in the sense of what fulfils perfectly all the obligations of mankind, whether to relations, fellow-men, or the gods (see Nettleship, Lectures and Essays, p. 104). The words are similarly joined in M. xv. 867, 'quosque alios vati fas appellare piumque est.'

l. 98. *facinus*, 'wilful guilt;' his constant plea in self-defence is that his guilt was not wilful: cp. iii. 1. 52; iv. 4. 44; v. 2. 17; xi. 17; P. i. 7. 40.

l. 99. *immo ita si scitis*, i. e. 'immo si scitis ita (esse),' 'nay, if you know that this is so;' the apodosis of this long conditional sentence (99-104) is in the imperative, 105, introduced by *ita*, for which see R. 655.

The usual explanation (to which Mr. Roby inclines, translating: 'Nay I will go so far as this = only (*ita*) if you do know it,' etc.), puts a comma at *ita*, which then refers forward to the *ita* of 105, the construction being 'immo ita parcite divi si scitis,' etc., but (1) this awkwardly splits up 99, and (2) *ita* is unnecessary on account of the *ita* in 105.

error, 'my mistake.' See Introduction IV.

abstulit, carried me an unwilling agent to my ruin, repeated in ii. 109. The expression is borrowed from Verg. Ecl. viii. 42. 'Ut vidi, ut perii, ut me malus abstulit error' (though there *error* = 'madness,' a sense inappropriate in the passages in Ovid).

l. 101. 'If I supported that House, as even the humblest may do.'

l. 102. The order is *Si publica iussa Augusti mihi satis (fuerunt)*, 'if the state legislation of Augustus contented me.' For the omission of *fuerunt* see i. 17 n. See Appendix on this line.

l. 103. *dixi*. 'If I have celebrated the happiness of the age beneath his rule.' He means in such passages as A. A. i. 177 ff.; cp. T. ii. 61-62, 'quid referam libros illos quoque, crimina nostra, Mille locis plenos nominis esse tui?' For *dico* = 'cano' cp. inf. 7. 13; M. viii. 455.

l. 104. *Caesaribus*. Gaius and Lucius Caesar, sons of Julia, the daughter of Augustus, who died respectively in A. D. 4 and A. D. 2, and Tiberius, and his sons Germanicus and Drusus. Cp. ii. 229; iv. 2. 1.

-que, which properly should be attached to the first word in its clause, is often, as here, appended to the second (cp. F. iii. 16. 128. 348) or even third (T. iv. 1. 34. 40, 74; v. 10. 40) by the poets, especially in the pentameter after quadrisyllabic words for metrical convenience.

l. 106. *unda*, supr. 34 n.

l. 109. *casu* is opposed to *vos*, which, to bring out the contrast forcibly, is put in the unusual position preceding *sed*. This is no chance work, it is *you* who are bringing aid. (This is better than to stop *non casu vos, sed* with Güthling, which (1) introduces an awkward metrical division, and (2) marks the contrast less emphatically.)

With *casu* supply 'effectum est.'

sub condicione, 'invoked on these terms,' on the condition that what I have said is true. *Sub* = 'subject to,' of an accompanying condition; as in the phrases 'sub pacto,' 'sub poena,' 'sub legibus' (Tac. A. i. 17). Cp. F. iv. 320, 'accipe sub certa condicione preces.' Liv. vi. 40. 8, 'sub condicione nos reficietis decimum tribunus;' *ibid.* xxi. 12. 4.

EL. III.

A description of his departure from Rome.

SUMMARY.—I weep still when I think of my last night in Rome (1-4). The time was come for me to leave Italy; I had made no preparations, but was as one thunderstruck (5-12). At length, however, I nerved myself to bid farewell to my friends and wife; my daughter was absent in Africa. There was lamentation everywhere; the scene was

like some tumultuous funeral, or the sack of Troy (13-26). Late at night I bade farewell to the Capitol and its gods, protesting that my guilt was not wilfully incurred, and begging that they would mitigate Caesar's hatred (27-40). The same prayer was repeated by my wife as she lay prostrate and sobbing before the gods of our hearth (41-46). Morning came and the time for departure; yet I exhausted every possible excuse to delay it (47-60). 'Why should I hurry,' I said, 'I who am leaving Rome for Scythia, and who shall never see again my wife, my household, and my friends?' (61-68). I gave one last embrace to all I loved, and as the morning star rose, I tore myself away with a pang as though I were being rent in pieces (69-76). Then my friends raised a wail, and my wife, clinging to me, protested that she would accompany me (77-86). But this might not be. She yielded, and I left (87-90). Of her heartbroken grief for me I have been told: I pray that she may live on to comfort and protect me, though so far away (91-102).

l. 3. *repeto*, supr. i. 23 n.

✓ l. 6. *finibus extremae A.* = 'extremis finibus A.' a hypallage. For Ausonia; see on ii. 92.

l. 7. *satis apta* = τὰ ἄλις προσήκοντα (the want of the definite article in Latin is clear here). 'I had neither the time nor the heart to get me suitable equipment.'

parandī is genitive of definition.

l. 8. *pectora* (poet. pl. 2. 39 n.), 'my faculties,' as in M. xiii. 368, 'pectora sunt potiora manu.'

l. 9. The construction is 'non mihi servorum (cura fuit), comites non cura legendi (fuit), non aptae profugo vestis opisve (cura) fuit.' See R. L. Gr. ii. p. lxvii.

l. 13. 'Yet when my very grief dispelled this cloud upon my soul.'

animi nubem, a bold expression (cp. P. ii. 1. 5, 'tandem aliquid pulsa curarum nube serenum Vidi'), rather different from 'nox animi,' M. vi. 652, which means the 'blinding darkness,' i. e. blindness of Tereus; whereas here the metaphor, if expanded, is of grief obscuring the mind as a cloud obscures the serenity of the sky. The idea that there is a point at which overmastering sorrow, which has paralysed the faculties, becomes so excessive that from its own intensity it sets them free, is found also in H. x. 33, 'nec languere diu patitur dolor;' M. v. 509, 'Mater ad auditas stupuit ceu saxea voces, Attonitaeque diu similis fuit. utque dolore Pulsa gravi gravis est amentia.' The image of the cloud of sorrow is found also in v. 5. 22 'pars vitae tristici cetera nube vacet;' cp. inf. 91; Verg. Aen. xii. 669.

l. 14. *convaluere*, 'recovered strength.'

l. 16. *modo de multis* = 'de modo multis;' H. xiv. 1, 'mittit Hypermnestra de tot modo fratribus uni.'

unus et alter, 'one or two.' He constantly complains of his desertion by his friends: inf. 5. 33; 9. 5; iii. 5. 10. *Erat* is attracted to the number of *alter*.

l. 17. *flentem flens acrius ipsa*. P. i. 4. 53, 'et narrare meos flenti flens ipse labores.' Verg. Aen. ii. 279, 'ultro flens ipse videbar Compellare virum.'

l. 18. *usque*, 'continually.'

indignas genas, 'those cheeks that never should have suffered so.' Ovid's metaphor has been amplified by Cokain into a simile with characteristic redundance (Tragedy of Ovid, Act v. Sc. 1), 'No April shower ever fell so sweetly As she doth weep over her sister.'

l. 19. *nata*. See Introduction I.

Libycis, the province of Africa, was a senatorial province whither she had doubtless accompanied her husband (a not uncommon practice—Furneaux, Tac. A. iii. 33. 2), who, as a senator, had gone in an official capacity. Her husband is mentioned by Seneca, Dial. ii. 17, 'in senatu flentem vidimus Fidum Cornelium, Nasonis Ovidii generum.'

diversa, in the opposite quarter of the world. Note the piling up of words to express her absence, *procul Libycis aberat diversa*.

sub = 'in the neighbourhood of,' a little less definite than *in* with the ablative: cp. Verg. Aen. v. 323.

l. 21. *quocumque adspiceres*, 'look wherever one might.' This subjunctive is really hypothetical, and its subject is the condition understood; R. 646. See on 2. 23 in Appendix.

l. 22. 'There was within my house [funerals usually taking place out of doors] the semblance of no silent funeral.' By '*funus tacitum*' is meant an ordinary (*translaticium*) funeral of the lower classes, without any pomp or show of mourners, and the *cornua*, *tubae*, and *tibicines* of the noisy funerals of the great. See Rich, s. v. Praeficae. Cp. v. 1. 14, 'efficio tacitum ne mihi funus eat.'

l. 23. The expression is quite general: the sorrow was universally shared by men, women, and children. For *meo funere*, causal abl., cp. Cic. Balb. 25. 56, 'homines alienis bonis maerentes.'

pueri = 'slaves' (Catull. xxvii. 1), for Ovid had no sons.

l. 24. *angulus*, Cokain, Tragedy of Ovid, Act i. Sc. 1, 'she . . . glorifies This *angle* of the world.'

l. 25. Imitated from Verg. Ecl. i. 23, 'sic parvis componere magna solebam;' G. iv. 176, 'si parva licet componere magnis.'

parvis (against *parvo*) is supported by inf. 6. 28, A. A. iii. 525, 'quis vetat a magnis ad res exempla minores Sumere?' The horrors of a town under sack is a stock illustration (see Ellis, Catull. lxii. 24; Prop. iv. (v.) 8. 56, 'spectaclum capta nec minus urbe fuit'): Ramsay aptly quotes Cic. 2 in Verr. iv. § 52, 'quem concursum in oppido factum putatis? quem clamorem? quem porro fletum mulierum? qui viderent, equum Troianum introductum, urbem captam esse dicerent.'

l. 26. *cum caperetur*, 'Troy being captured,' subj. of attendant circumstance, R. 722. Cp. xi. 3.

l. 27. Cp. H. xiv. 33, 'iamque cibo vinoque graves somnoque iacebant, Securumque quies alta per Argos erat.'

l. 29. *ad hanc*, 'by her light.' Cp. M. iv. 99, 'quam procul ad lunae radios Babylonia Thisbe vidit;' *Ibid.* 220, 'bis sex Leucothoen famulas ad lumina cernit;' F. i. 438, 'omnibus ad lunae lumina risus erat;' R. 801 b. L. Gr. 1820, where, however, the heading 'presence after motion' indicates rather the origin of the use, and hence is not exactly applicable here.

Capitolia, poetic pl. ii. 39 n.

l. 30. *frustra*, because they did not protect me, as neighbouring deities should have done. Cp. Cokain, Act ii. Sc. 1, 'Enjoy'd the generous Ovid his prime youth, And flourish'd again in his own house Adjoining unto our triumphant capital,' etc.

l. 33. *Quirini*, F. ii. 475, 'Proxima lux vacua est: at tertia dicta Quirino. Qui tenet hoc nomen, Romulus ante fuit.'

l. 34. 'Allow me to have said farewell to you for ever.'

l. 35. And though I am wise too late in entreating now your guardianship (since had I done so before you would have saved me from this trouble). Our proverb is 'to shut the stable door after the horse is stolen.'

l. 36. 'Still free me in my exile from the hatreds of my fellows,' i. e. especially of Augustus, though he is also possibly thinking of his private enemy, the subject of the *Ibis*, to whom iii. 11, iv. 9, and v. 8 are addressed.

l. 37. *caelesti viro* = 'deo' (40), Augustus.

l. 38. *pro culpa*, 'that he may not regard it as a crime instead of a fault:' the *culpa* is the *error* of the preceding line. Cp. iv. 4. 47, Introd. p. lii.

l. 42. *medios*, 'in the middle,' when half uttered.

l. 43. The 'Lares' were the deified spirits of departed ancestors, who protected the whole abode, while the 'Penates' were the guardians of the 'penu' (store-room) and 'penetralia.' (See Kennedy's Vergil, pp. 606 and 616; Mommsen, R. H. i. 173.) Thus the *superi* (41), the celestial gods addressed by Ovid himself, are contrasted with the *Lares*

addressed by his wife, as the *superi* were contrasted with the *virides dei*, supr. ii. 59.

For *passis* see i. 12 n.

adstrata, a rare word, found also in M. ii. 243 (there followed by a dat.), 'nocte dieque vocant adsternunturque sepulcro.'

l. 44. *exstinctos*, in time of mourning the fire on the hearth was let out: F. ii. 564, 'ture vacent arae stentque sine igne foci.'

focos is either (1) poetic pl. = *focum*, the hearth situated in the atrium by the altar of the household gods (Rich. s. v. *focus* 1), or (2) *focos* = 'aras,' a sense common in the poets (see Nettleship on Verg. Aen. xii. 118; cp. F. vi. 301, 'at focus a flammis et quod fovet omnia dictus,' though etymologically the word is really connected with 'fax' and 'facies,' not with 'foveo'); then there would be more than one altar to the household gods.

l. 45. *adversos*, 'which faced her.' Prop. iv. (v.) 11. 85, 'seu tamen adversum mutarit ianua lectum.' Supr. ii. 30.

l. 46. *deplorato* = 'mortuo;' 'deplorare' = 'to mourn for the dead.' Transl., 'lost,' almost our 'lamented.'

l. 47. *praecipitata*, 'night in her hurrying course' down the sky: Verg. Aen. ii. 9, 'et iam nox umida caelo Praecipitat.' The word is middle in meaning, like 'dividor' infr. 73, 'avelli,' 81, and the pf. part. is here used for the present, there being no pres. part. pass. in Latin. See Madv. L. Gr. 431. 6; Conington on G. i. 293.

l. 48. 'The Arcadian Bear had been turned round from its centre,' i. e. on its own axis, had completed its revolution. The axis is regarded as the basis from (*ab*) which the turning takes place. The *axis* round which the Bear turns may fairly be called *suus*, though outside the constellation itself. For the connexion of the North Pole with the Bear cp. ii. 190, 'Parrhasiae gelido virginis axe premor,' and iii. 2. 2, 'quaeque Lycaonio terra sub axe iacet.' [Why should not the axis round which the Bear turns be called *suus*, etc.? The axis of the Bear *is* in fact (nearly) the fixed point or pole round which it appears to turn.—H. J. R.]

Parrhasis = Arcadian, from mount Parrhasius in Arcadia.

The Arcadian bear is Callisto, daughter of Lycaon, king of Arcadia, who became one of the attendant nymphs of Artemis. Her beauty won the favour of Zeus, by whom she became the mother of Arcas. In consequence of this violation of her vow of chastity she was driven from the company of Artemis, and was transformed into a bear by the jealous Hera. In this shape she wandered for a long period, until she was met by her son Arcas, who not recognising her was about to kill her, when Zeus averted his spear, and planted them both as constellations in the sky. Arcas became Bootes, Arcturus, or Arctophylax (the guardian of

the bear, *infr.* 4. 1; 11. 15). Hera, still raging with jealousy, induced Tethys, the goddess of Ocean, to grant that her rival should never be suffered to cool herself in the waters of the sea (*supr.* 2. 29 n.). The story, a favourite one with Ovid (*cp. inf.* 4. 1; 11. 15; ii. 190; iii. 2. 2; 4. 47; 10. 3; 11. 8; iv. 3. 1. ff.; v. 3. 7), is told in *M.* ii. 466 ff. The Greek sailors steered by the greater, the Phoenician by the lesser Bear (also called 'Cynosura'), *iv.* 3. 1. ff.

✓ 1. 55. On leaving the house a Roman avoided touching the threshold, for to stumble there was a most unlucky omen; *cp.* *H.* xiii. 87 (*Laodamia to Protesilaus*):

'Cum foribus velles ad Troiam exire paternis,
pes tuus offenso limine signa dedit.
ut vidi, ingemui, tacitoque in pectore dixi:
"Signa reversuri sint, precor, ista viri,"'

where *Laodamia* tries to avert the omen by accepting it as a good sign. (*Cp.* the story of *William the Conqueror's* landing in England; *Freeman, Old English History*, p. 317.) So *Tibullus* i. 3. 19 (*describing his disinclination to leave home*):

'O quotiens ingressus iter mihi tristia dixi
offensum in porta signa dedisse pedem.'

M. x. 452:

'Ter pedis offensi signo est revocata.'

✓ 1. 57. *vale*, regarded as an indeclinable subst., as often in Ovid; *cp.* *M. x.* 62, 'Supremumque vale'; *H.* xiii. 14, 'illud . . . vale.'

1. 58. *summus* is less common than 'supremus' in the sense of 'last.'

✓ 1. 60. *pignora cara*, 'the pledges of affection,' commonly used of children, is here applied to his wife and friends in general.

✓ 1. 62. *mora* = reason for delay.

1. 64. *membra domus*, not my friends and servants (*Minelli*), but, as is seen by the separate mention of *sodales* in the next line, my near relatives, i. e. wife and daughter, and my slaves (*pueri* 23).

1. 65. *fraterno more*, as though you had been my brothers; *supr.* 1. 100.

sodales, properly the members of a 'collegium,' is constantly, as here, used metaphorically to indicate any close friendship (*Reid on Pro Sulla*, § 7); *infr.* 7. 10.

1. 66. The devoted friendship of *Theseus*, king of Athens, and *Pirithous* of Larissa was proverbial. When *Pirithous* went to the infernal regions to carry off *Proserpine*, of whom he was enamoured, *Theseus* accompanied him; and though *Theseus* was let go again, *Pirithous* was compelled by *Pluto* to remain there. *Infr.* 5. 19; v. 4. 26; *Hor. Od.* iii. 4. 80.

✓ 1. 68. *in lucro est*, 'is so much gain,' counts in the category of gain. *Cp.* *Ter. Ph.* ii. 2. 16, 'quidquid praeter spem eveniat, omne id deputare esse in lucro.'

1. 70. *animo proxima quaeque meo*, 'what is nearest and dearest to my heart.' See v. 2. 39, 'me miserum, quid agam, si proxima quaeque relinquunt?'

1. 71. The 'stella Veneris,' called *Vesper* as the evening, and *Lucifer* as the morning star, was the star which guided *Aeneas* to Italy (*Con. Aen.* ii. 801); is it fanciful to suppose that Ovid, who is full of Vergilian reminiscences, is covertly contrasting its office here as ushering in his own departure?

1. 73. 'I separate myself from them even as though I were leaving my limbs, and it seemed as if a part were being sundered from its proper (*suo*) body; such was the anguish of *Mettus* when, as punishment for his treachery, he felt the horses driven this way and that.'

In 73, 74 he expresses his anguish at the separation from his 'domus et fidae dulcia membra domus' (he is fond of this image of the body, *cp.* *iv.* 10. 48, 'dulcia convictus membra fuere mei'): this is like a part being torn from the whole body (in 2. 44 he speaks of his wife as his 'dimidia pars'). Thus there is a compressed simile, and *relinquam* is a conditional subj. whose apodosis—which would be 'dividar' if expressed—is suppressed in a sentence of comparison, *R.* 660. This idea once conceived, he goes on in his usual manner to amplify it, by adding a fresh simile, that of *Mettus Fufetius* (the name should be *Mettus not Mettius*, which would be the name of a tribe (*Jahn*), *cp. liber de praen.* *Wordsworth, Fr. and Sp.* p. 380), an Alban general in the time of *Tullus Hostilius*, who, for having treacherously broken a treaty with the Romans, was fastened to two chariots, which were then driven opposite ways, and was thus torn to pieces, *Liv.* i. 28. The fate of *Mettus* is alluded to in *Ibis* 279, 'Vel tua, ne poenae genus hoc cognoverit unus, Viscera diversis scissa ferantur equis.' See *Verg. Aen.* viii. 642 (a passage which Ovid had no doubt in his mind):

'Haud procul inde citae Mettuum in diversa quadrigae
distulerant—at tu dictis, Albane, maneres!
raptabatque viri mendacis viscera Tullus
per silvam, et sparsi rorabant sanguine vepres.

1. 77. *tum vero* = τότε δή.

✓ 1. 81. *avelli*, *supr.* 47 n.

1. 83. 'For me as well as thee the journey has been prepared, for me as well as thee the world's end has room.'

1. 84. *sarcina* is properly the soldier's pack, consisting of corn for a

fortnight, tools, utensils, etc., which he carried with him on the march. Cp. i. 126.

l. 86. *pietas*, 'my love,' the dutiful affection of a wife for her husband.

l. 88. *dare manus* is the regular phrase of a conquered soldier extending his hands to his conqueror to bind in confession of his defeat. Cp. P. i. 2. 48, 'aut dare captivas ad fera vincla manus.'

victas utilitate is added in further explanation of the metaphor, which occurs again H. iv. 14. F. iii. 688, 'Evictas precibus vix dedit illa manus,' *ibid.* vi. 800.

l. 89. *sive* (more often 'sive potius') is used to correct the previous assertion.

Translate: 'I pass out, or rather it was a being borne to burial, though no dead body was there.' For the oxymoron, by which *sine funere ferri* = 'quamvis essem vivus efferrī,' cp. Catull. lxiv. 83, 'funera Cecropiae nec funera.'

funus, in the sense of a dead body, is common in poetry; see Prop. i. 17. 8, 'haecine parva meum funus harena teget?' Verg. Aen. ix. 491; Mayor on Iuv. x. 259.

(Others understand *sine funere*, 'without a funeral.' Cp. supr. 22.)

l. 90. *hirta*, 'unshaven.' The word means 'shaggy,' and is a favourite one with Ovid, who applies it to the shaggy hair on a man's body (M. xiii. 849), the shaggy hair of Fames (M. viii. 792), the stiff grey hair of an old woman (M. x. 425), the bristles of a wild boar (A. A. i. 762, Halient. 60), and the hair of she-goats (M. xiii. 926).

l. 91. *dolore*, causal abl., with *amens*.

At this point he departed; the rest of the scene he knows only from hearsay. Graeber (i. p. iv.), comparing with this 6. 7. ff.; 7. 1. ff. and 23; 9. 65. ff., shows that he probably received more than one letter from home on the course of his journey, from which he would have learnt these particulars.

✓ Translate: 'Distraught with grief, they tell me, and with darkness rising o'er her eyes, she fell headlong in a swoon in the midst of the house.'

'Tenebrae,' of the dimness which overspreads the eyes of one fainting, occurs also in M. ii. 181; H. xiii. 23, and seems meant to express the Homeric *σκότος ὅσσε κάλυψεν*, though there the darkness is that of death.

✓ l. 92. *sēmiānīmīs*, synizesis, as inf. 10. 9, Cēnchrēis, R. 44.

l. 93. *foedatis pulvere*, cp. Verg. Aen. xii. 99, 'foedare in pulvere crinis.'

l. 97. *natae*, her daughter by her former husband, who married P.

Suillius Rufus. See Introduction I. p. xvii. The sing. *corpus* joined with the two substantives *nataeque virique* must not, in a poet, be pressed, as being inconsistent; and grammatically it is easy to supply *corpus* with *natae*.

l. 98. *rogos* is the subject of 'habere.'

l. 99. For the omission of 'et' before 'moriendo,' and the use of 'que' in the third member of the sentence, a not uncommon usage, see R. 864 c.

l. 101. *tulerunt*, 'have brought it about.' 'Ferre' is thus specially used of fate: Verg. Aen. 2. 34; II. 232.

✓ l. 102. *vivat ut* = 'vivat, et ita quidem vivat, ut absentem sublevet;' for the omission of 'ita' with the restrictive subj. see on 1. 88. Notice the studied delicacy of the repetition of *vivat*; his first thought is for his wife, that her life may be prolonged; his second only for himself, that it may be prolonged in order that she may protect his interests.

EL. IV.

This poem describes a storm which Ovid encountered on the Ionian sea (cp. El. ii). He probably sailed from Brundisium (Masson, Vit. Ov. p. 105, ed. Fischer), and this storm took place on the sea between Brundisium and Illyricum (cp. 19). He left Rome at the end of A. D. 9 (Wartenberg, p. 23), probably at the beginning of November, as is seen from lines 1-2 of this poem, which speak of the (evening) setting of Arcturus, which took place at Rome about the fourth of November (Dict. A. 159 a).

SUMMARY.—It is winter, but I am compelled to sail the seas. Alas! by what a storm is my vessel tossed! the very ship seems to groan in sympathy with my woes (1-10). The steersman is powerless to direct, and is forced to let the vessel go her own wild way. I still see Italy on the left: oh, that the ship would cease from making for the land that is forbidden me! (11-22). As I speak the storm increases. Spare me, ye gods of the sea, and save me from death (23-28).

l. 1. *custos E. ursae*, 3. 48, n. *Erymanthis* = Arcadian, from Erymanthus, the name (1) of a range of mountains in the north of Arcadia, and (2) of a river which rises in them.

l. 3. The Ionian sea (*Ἰόνιος κόλπος*) is properly the sea between Epirus and Italy at the mouth of the Hadriatic, though it is used somewhat loosely sometimes so as to comprehend the Hadriatic itself: Serv. Verg.

Aen. iii. 211, 'sciendum Ionium sinum esse inmensum ab Ionia usque ad Siciliam, et huius partes esse Adriaticum Achaicum Epiroticum.'

1. 4. *nostra sponte*, modal abl.

audaces metu (supr. 3. 89), oxymoron. Contrast the weakness of the imitation by Stat. Theb. i. 373, 'dat stimulos animo vis maesta timoris.'

1. 5. *me miserum*. The acc. of exclamation is really the object of some verb understood—*me miserum (vides)*.

1. 6. 'And thrown up from the depths of the sea the sand is a seething mass,' a reminiscence of Verg. Geor. i. 327, 'fervetque fretis spirantibus aequor,' and Aen. i. 125, 'imis Stagna refusa vadis,' to which latter passage the reading *vadis* here is probably due.

1. 7. *monte inferior*, 2. 19.

1. 8. *pictos deos*, i.e. the 'tutela' of the ship (cp. infr. 10. 1); which was a painting or image, on the poop (*puppis*), of some god or gods, hero or heroes, under whose special protection the ship was supposed to be, and to whom supplication was offered in storms, and expiation was made, if anything ill-omened was done. For more than one such tutelary god see Hor. Od. i. 14. 10, 'non tibi sunt integra lintea, Non di, quos iterum pressa voces malo.' Pers. vi. 29, where a man, shipwrecked on the Ionian sea, 'iacet ipse in litore et una *Ingentes de puppe dei*.' Here, however, the pl. is poetic (2. 39, n.), for the 'tutela' of Ovid's ship was one goddess only, Minerva, as we learn from 10. 1. In Verg. Aen. x. 171, 'aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis,' Apollo is the ship's 'tutela.'

1. 9. *pineae texta*, cp. Catull. lxiv. 9, 'Ipsa levi fecit volitantem flamine currum Pineae coniungens inflexae texta carinae.' 'Texere' and 'intexere' are ship-building terms expressing the manner in which the pine-planking of a ship's sides is fitted compactly together, as the threads are woven by the loom. (The metaphor is as old as Homer; see Merry's *Odyssey*, Appendix I, pp. 536 and 538.) The *texta* here seem to include both the upright ribs of the ship's sides and the horizontal planks supported by them. It means the planking of the deck in F. i. 506, 'Pinea non sano ter pede texta ferit.'

pulsi, sc. *sunt*. See on i. 17.

stridore, modal ablative used with poetic licence; cp. Verg. Aen. viii. 215, 'Discessu mugire boves, atque omne querellis Inpleri nemus, et colles *clamore* relinqui.'

1. 10. *ingemit* expressively describes the creaking of the timbers in a heavy sea.

nostris malis is dat. of indirect object with *ingemit*, 'groans over my woes.'

1. 11. *confessus*, 'betraying,' like 'fassus,' ii. 525, 'utque sedet vultu fassus Telamonius iram.'

1. 13. *rector*, properly the helmsman of a ship, is here used for the driver of a chariot, as *auriga*, 16, which properly means a driver, is used for the helmsman.

1. 14. *cervicis rigidae*, gen. of quality with *equo*. We talk of a 'hard-mouthed' horse (Am. ii. 9. 30, 'durior oris equus'), but of a 'stiff-necked' generation.

1. 16. *aurigam*, metaphorically for the helmsman of a ship, had been used already by an earlier poet, probably Varro Atacinus (in a line quoted by Charisius, Ins. Gr. iv. 4. 275 K; Donatus, Ars Gram. iii. 6. 399 K; Pompeius Comm. 305 K.), as a stock example of the metaphorical application of the name of one animate thing to another:

'Tiphyn aurigam celeris fecere carinae;'

with which the grammarians contrast another line, probably by Ennius, where, conversely, 'gubernator' is applied to a charioteer,

'Cumque gubernator magna contorsit equos vi.'

In Ovid the metaphor is helped out by the simile of the driver. A ship is constantly compared by the poets to a chariot (Hom. Od. xiii. 81; Aesch. Prom. 468, Supp. 33; Soph. Trach. 656; Eur. Med. 1122); see e.g. the elaborate simile in Verg. Aen. v. 144, where a race of ships is compared to a chariot race.

1. 17. *Aeolus*, the king of the winds.

1. 19. *Illyriis*, not from Illyrii but Illyriae, a pl. form of Illyria, found also in Prop. ii. 16 (iii. 7.) 10, 'dic alias iterum naviget Illyrias.'

laeva de parte. He was sailing southwards from Brundisium, thus Illyria would lie to the left; conversely, after passing the Bosphorus, one sailed northwards to Tomi, hence he speaks of 'laevi fera litora Ponti,' 2. 83; see n. there.

1. 21. *contendere*, 'to set towards.'

1. 22. *magno deo*, Augustus: so *Iovem*, 26.

1. 23. *repelli*, I both desire and fear to be driven back to Italy.

1. 24. *increpuit* is transitive, 'has caused to creak:' M. xii. 52, 'Iuppiter atras Increpuit nubes (has made to thunder).' H. iii. 118, 'Threiciam digitis increpuisse lyram.'

1. 25. *caerulei*; see on 2. 59.

1. 28. *qui periiit* is better taken as he who has lost his 'caput,' a poetical exaggeration (see 2. 72, n., in Appendix); cp. P. iv. 12. 44, 'peream, nisi dicere vix est—Si modo, qui periiit, ille perire potest;' than, with Lörz, as simply a strong expression for one who has been ruined (cp. iii. 3. 53).

EL. V.

This is the first Epistle proper of the Tristia, and is addressed in the most affectionate terms to a friend for whose constancy the poet is warmly grateful. The friend's name is not mentioned, in accordance with what is said in P. i. 1. 17, 'Rebus idem [i. e. the Pontic Epistles are the same as the Tristia], titulo differt; et epistula cui sit Non occultato nomine missa docet.' Who this friend was has been a matter of considerable controversy; but it has now been almost certainly established that he was the Albinovanus Celsus addressed also in iii. 6. See Introduction III. p. xlvi.

With the sentiments of the epistle cp. Ar. Eth. N. ix. 11.

SUMMARY.—O dearest friend, whose name I may not mention, who wast the first to console me in my calamity, and who didst dissuade me from laying violent hands on myself, as was my first desperate intention, thy kindness will never be forgotten by me as long as I live (1-14). May the gods requite thee with all the happiness thou so well deservest (15-16). If I had not experienced misfortune perhaps I should never have discovered thy loyalty. For true friendship has ever shown itself most clearly in the hour of adversity: by adversity it is tested, as gold by fire (17-26). All are the friends of the fortunate, but let but his fortune desert him, and the throng of friends vanishes instantly away. This I have now learned by sad experience (27-32). But ye few friends that remain to me, continue, I pray, to help me in my shattered state; and fear not Caesar's wrath, if ye do so, for Caesar himself respects loyalty, even among his enemies. And I am no enemy, but was exiled merely for my folly. Therefore lend me your assistance (34-44). My sorrows are too numerous to recount; many must die with me untold, for had I a voice of iron, lungs of brass, and tongues innumerable, I could never hope to describe them all (45-56). Therefore, ye poets, if ye would sing of misfortune, take me for your theme, rather than Ulysses of ancient story, for my case is far harder than his (57-84).

1. 1. *ullos numquam*. Madvig (Adv. Crit. ii. 96, followed by Ehwald) prefers the reading of the inferior manuscripts *nullos umquam*, on the ground that 'quisquam' and 'ullus' never precede the negative, a rule laid down by him in preface to Livy i. p. 22, and L. Gr. 474 a, in which he is followed by Roby 898, L. Gr. 2278. But there is really

no reason either here or in Cic. de Or. ii. § 229, 'his cum adrisisset ipse Crassus, "ac tamen" inquit Antonius "cum artem esse facetiarum, Iuli, ullam negares,"' etc. (where Madv. would read 'facetiarum, Iuli, negares') to disturb the reading of the MSS. Probably 'ullus,' both in Ovid and Cicero, is placed first for the sake of emphasis ('after any single comrade never to be mentioned'), which would be the effect of the unusual position. The same order is found in Tibull. iii. 12. 9, 'ullae non ille puellae servire.' (Instances of the usual order are v. 6. 34, xii. 63.)

1. 3. *attonitum*, 'stupefied' at my exile: the word lit. means 'thunderstruck'; hence there is a special point in its use here, as he frequently compares Augustus to Juppiter, and his exile to a thunderbolt launched at him. Cp. i. 72, iii. 11.

1. 4. *adloquio* = *παραμυθία*, 'consolation.' Infr. 8. 18; iv. 5. 3. *sustinuisse*, the perf. inf. is used freely in the poets where we should have expected a present. Madvig (L. Gr. 407, obs. 2) gives the usage thus: 'In the poets the perf. infin. act. is sometimes used (like the Greek aorist) for the pres. infin., but only as a simple infinitive after a verb (especially after *verba voluntatis et potestatis*), not as a subject [this is a mistake; in 'quiesse erit melius' (quoted by Madvig himself) 'quiesse' is subject—H. J. R.], nor in the acc. with infin.' Conington (Aen. vi. 79) remarks that its greater frequency in the elegiac poets than in Vergil is due to the needs of the pentameter (see Kennedy, L. Gr. p. 425).

1. 5. 'Thou who didst offer to me the comforting advice to live, as my poor heart was filled with the love of death.'

The clause introduced by *cum* contains the reason why the 'consilium vivendi' was offered.

1. 7. Cp. iv. 4. 7, 'Quod minime volui, positus pro nomine signis Dictus es: ignoscas laudibus ipse tuis.'

1. 8. *te fallit, σὲ λανθάνει*. 'You well know the service that you rendered me.'

officium (= *opi-ficium*) is properly a service done from motives of relationship or friendship.

1. 9. *imis medullis*, 'deep in my heart,' a common Latin expression and quite Ciceronian: Phil. i. § 36, 'o beatos illos, qui, cum adesse ipsis propter vim amorum non licebat, aderant tamen et in medullis populi Romani ac visceribus haerebant.'

1. 10. *animae debitor huius*, 'I shall always be indebted to thee for this life of mine.' Ovid's use of the word *debitor* is worth noticing: it is found in the sense of 'indebted to,' (1) with a gen. of the thing for which one is indebted, here and in P. iv. 8. 6, 'ut iam nil praestes, animi sum factus amici Debitor' (I am in your debt for your friendly

intention): (2) with dat. of the person to whom the debt is incurred: P. iv. 1. 2, 'debitor est vitae qui tibi Sexte suae.' 'Officium' is put metaphorically in the same personal dat.: Am. i. 10. 45, 'Omnia conductor solvit, mercede soluta Non manet officio debitor ille tuo' (one who hires from you and pays the price is no longer under any obligation to (you for your) service. (This passage is wrongly explained in L. and S.)

l. 11. 'And this my breath shall pass from me to be dispersed into the viewless breezes, and shall leave my frame on the smouldering pyre, ere forgetfulness of thy services enter into my heart, and that affection of thine fall out of memory through lapse of time.'

With *tenuandus* cp. M. xv. 246, 'tenuatus in auras Aëraque umor abit' (moisture disappears evaporating into wind and air).

With *vacuas auras* cp. iii. 3. 61, 'nam si morte carens vacua volat altus in aura Spiritus.'

l. 12. *in tepido rogo*. The Romans believed that the spirit left the body at the actual moment of burning on the pyre: F. v. 463, 'Nunc elapsa rogi flammis et inanis imago Haec est ex illo forma relicta Remo.' Prop. iv. (v.) 7. 2, 'luridaque evictos effugit umbra rogos.'

l. 13. *subeant . . . excidat*, a subj. is used with *priusquam*, where the prior occurrence of an expected event is prevented: cp. Verg. G. iv. 306; Caes. B. G. vi. 37, 'nec prius sunt visi . . . quam castris adpropinquarent,' though here the principal sentence being negative (*nec visi*), the prior occurrence is the reverse of prevented, but is secured.

l. 15. *faciles*, 'gracious:' Verg. G. iv. 535, 'faciles venerare Napeas;' M. v. 559, 'facilesque deos habuistis;' Lucan. i. 505, 'o faciles dare summa deos, eademque tueri Difficiles.'

nullius, 'a lot such as to need the help of none.'

l. 17. *haec navis*, 'the bark of my fortunes;' the metaphor of a ship applied to his own fortunes is a favourite one with Ovid: cp. *infr.* 36; 6. 8 n.; P. i. 2. 62; x. 39, 'vos estis fracto tellus non dura phaselo;' ii. 3. 26, 'dum flavit velis aura secunda meis.' In *infr.* ix. 42 the same metaphor is used of the fortunes of his friend.

amico, 'kindly,' as in M. xiii. 439, 'dum ventus amior esset.'

l. 18. *ignoraretur*, 'would have remained undiscovered by me.' He now proceeds in his usual manner to illustrate by well-known legendary instances the truth of his assertion that adversity is the true test of friendship.

l. 19. See on iii. 66.

l. 21. *Phoceus*. Pylades, son of Strophius, king of Phocis, was the devoted friend of Orestes, and accompanied him in all his wanderings, when driven by the Furies of his mother Clytemnestra, whom he had killed to avenge the murder of his father Agamemnon, king of Mycenae

and Argos ('Argolici Orestae,' *inf.* 9. 27; Hom. Il. 2. 108). By order of the Delphian Apollo they went to the Tauric Chersonnese, where they were ordered by Thoas the king to be sacrificed to Diana, whose priestess was Iphigeneia, the sister of Orestes. So much mercy was shown them that one was allowed to live, and the noble eagerness of each to die in place of the other was the crowning trait in their romantic friendship. Orestes was, however, recognised by his sister Iphigeneia, and the three escaped together. The story is told at some length in *iv.* 4. 63 ff. See also *i.* 9. 27; *v.* 4. 25; 6. 25; P. ii. 3. 45; Am. ii. 6. 15. (For the developments of the Greek myth see England's Iphigeneia in Tauris, *Intr.* p. vii. ff.)

l. 23. The story of the friendship of Nisus, son of Hyrtacus, and Euryalus, son of Opheltes, of their vain attempt to carry news to Aeneas from the beleaguered Trojan camp, and of the devotion with which Nisus sacrificed his life in the fruitless endeavour to save Euryalus, is told in Verg. Aen. ix. 176 ff. Cp. *infr.* 9. 33; *v.* 4. 26.

Madvig (*Adv.* ii. 96) needlessly objects to the phrase *cadere in hostem*, which he says can mean neither 'incidere in hostem' nor 'pugnantem contra hostem cadere;' and he conjectures 'Rutulo cecidisset in hoste.' But 'cadere in' is used metaphorically of falling into a trap; Euryalus was entrapped by the Rutulian cavalry, whom he encountered unawares (Aen. ix. 372 ff.); and this usage is common, e.g. A. A. i. 646, 'in laqueos, quos posuere, cadant.'

l. 25. *scilicet* (=scire licet), 'you see that,' introduces the conclusion drawn from the examples.

spectatur, 'is proved.'

l. 27. *vultu*, looks. P. iv. 3. 7, 'Nunc, quia contraxit vultum Fortuna, recedis.' Hor. Epp. i. 11. 20.

l. 28. 'The whole world follows at the beck of wealth unimpaired.' On *indelibat* see Appendix.

l. 29. At the first distant peal of thunder they are off before the storm breaks.

ulli, R. 476. The dat. to express the agent is used regularly with the gerundive, and sometimes with passive participles and participial adjectives in *-bilis*, or even other parts of the passive verb; all these uses except the first are mainly poetical. See Wilkins, Hor. Epp. i. 19. 3.

l. 30. The Roman nobles were accompanied by their clients on foot throughout the business of the day (Wilkins, Rom. Ant. p. 35): thus *comites* here = 'clients,' as in Iuv. iii. 284, 'comitum longissimus ordo.' This sense is common in Juvenal; see Mayor's Index.

l. 31. *conlecta*, 'inferred.'

l. 32. *vera* is predicate, 'known to be true.'

l. 34. See on 3. 16.

l. 35. *rebus laesis* is supported by Silius xi. 6, 'laesis diffidere rebus;' probably an imitation of the Ovidian phrase.

l. 36. *naufragio meo* = 'mihi naufrago.' The poets frequently use a subst. in this way where we should have expected a participle, and a thing where we should have expected a person: cp. inf. 43; II. 6. Propertius is particularly daring in his use of such expressions: cp. ii. 20 (iii. 11) 31, 'atque inter Tityi volucres *mea poena* vagetur;' i. 20, 15, 'quae *miser* ignotis *error* perpeusus in oris *Herculis* (=miser errans Hercules) indomito flevit Ascanio.' See Hertzberg, Q. P. 149; Reid on Pro Sulla, § 4.

l. 39. Cp. inf. 9. 24. *in* = in the case of, inf. 9. 24 and 35; P. i. 10. 21, 'Is quoque, qui gracili cibus est in corpore, somnus Non alit officio corpus inane suo.'

l. 41. *qui*, the masculine relative, stands as if the antecedent were not *causa mea*, but *ego* (the idea of which is contained in it); cp. ii. 51, 'Causa mea est melior, qui nec contraria dicor Arma nec hostiles esse secutus opes;' v. 11. 4, 'Indolui, non tam mea quod fortuna male audit, Qui iam consuevi fortiter esse miser;' P. iii. 4. 91, 'Nec mea verba legis, qui sum summotus ad Histrum.' Cp. 2. 37 n.

qui = 'for I,' the indic. merely stating the fact.

contraria fovi arma refers rather to support rendered to the opponents of Augustus in the civil wars, than to taking part in conspiracies against him, such as that of Varro Murena (which occurred B.C. 23.—Nettleship, Essays, p. xi), or those enumerated by Suetonius, Octav. 19. Cp. ii. 51.

l. 42. *simplicitate*, 'artlessness,' not exactly 'stupidity,' as it is usually explained, a meaning which the word will hardly bear; cp. iii. 6. 35, 'Stultitiamque meum crimen debere vocari, Nomina si facto reddere vera velis.'

l. 43. *invigiles* is jussive depending on *oro*.

nostris pro casibus = 'pro me misero,' supr. 36 n.

l. 48. *corpora*, 'grains.' M. xiv. 137, 'quot haberet corpora pulvis, Tot mihi natales contingere vana rogavi;' *med. form.* ed. Kunz 70, 'et simul infantis corpora frige fabae.'

l. 49. *credibili maiora*. See Appendix on this line.

l. 50. *quamvis*. This line shows clearly the true meaning of *quamvis*, and of the rhetorical command conveyed by the subj.: 'Let them have happened as much as ever you like, they will not gain credence.'

l. 51. 'Part too of my sorrows must needs die with me, and I could wish that since I avow them not they may be hidden from the world.' My sorrows are too numerous for me to sing them all, and I only hope

that such as I allow to be forgotten may rest in that obscurity to which I have consigned them.

l. 53. A conscious imitation of what Homer says of the multitude of the Greek ships, II. ii. 488, Πληθὺν δ' οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ μυθήσομαι οὐδ' ὀνομήνω, Οὐδ' εἴ μοι δέκα μὲν γλῶσσαι, δέκα δὲ στόματ' εἴεν, Φωνὴ δ' ἄρρηκτος χάλκεον δέ μοι ἦτορ ἐνείη: imitated also by Verg. Geor. ii. 43 = Aen. vi. 625; Pers. v. 1. Cp. Reynard the Fox, tr. by T. J. Arnold, p. 4, 'Had I the tongues of angels, lungs of brass, whole days and weeks—nay, months and years would pass Ere I could mention all my injuries.' Tennyson, in Macmillan's Mag., Dec. 1884, p. 83, 'Men loud against all forms of power—Unfurnish'd brows, tempestuous tongues—Expecting all things in an hour—*Brass mouths and iron lungs.*'

infragilis is Homer's ἄρρηκτος, Vergil's 'ferrea.' *pectus* = 'lungs.'

For the omission of the substantive verb see I. 17 n.

l. 57. *pro duce N.* is used compendiously for 'pro malis ducis Neritii:' cp. Prop. ii. 3. 21, 'sua cum antiquae committit scripta Corinnae' (=matches her poetry with that of Corinna). Hom. II. xvii. 51, κόμαι Χαρίτεσσιν ὁμοίαι, 'hair like (that of) the Graces.' Justin iv. 3, 'facinus nulli tyranno comparandum.'

The epithet Neritius applied to Ulysses here and in F. iv. 69, and used of him also in Rem. 264; M. xiii. 711; xiv. 563; cp. xiv. 159, refers probably not to the Homeric Neritos, a mountain of Ithaca, but to a small island of that name in the Ionian sea, one of the group of islands over which Ulysses ruled; and Ovid is probably following some later Greek writer whose works have perished. Otherwise M. xiii. 711, 'Et iam Dulichios portus Ithacamque Samenque Neritiasque domos, regnum fallacis Vlixis, Praeter erant vecti,' is hard to explain; see Conington on Aen. iii. 271. In the rest of the poem he artfully contrasts his own sufferings with those of Ulysses on his return from Troy, which from the Odyssey had acquired a world-wide fame.

docti = σοφοί, 'accomplished.' The word does not imply learning in our sense, nor necessarily a knowledge of Greek, but only the possession of poetic taste and culture, and so often means simply poetical (Hertzberg on Prop. ii. 34. 89; Ellis on Catull. xxxv. 16; Sellar's Vergil, p. 53). Thus it applied to the following poets: Pacuvius (Hor. Epp. ii. 1. 56; Quintil. x. 97); Calvus (Prop. ii. 34. (iii. 26) 89); Catullus (Ovid, Am. iii. 9. 62); M. Brutus, an erotic poet (P. i. 1. 24); Albino-vanus Peto (Mart. ii. 77. 5); and the poetess Perilla (T. iii. 7. 31). And in Ovid we find it used of 'poetae' (A. A. iii. 551); 'carmina' (T. iii. 7. 12); 'pectus,' the poet's soul (T. iii. 1. 63); 'libelli,' books of poetry (T. iii. 1. 71); the reader of poetry (v. 9. 9); the Muses (A. A. iii. 411; T. ii. 13; F. vi. 811; M. v. 255); his friend Salanus

(P. ii. 5. 15); and of Germanicus in his capacity of 'vates' (P. iv. 8. 77; F. i. 19). The Muses and Apollo are called 'docta turba' (T. iii. 2. 4); 'docti' and 'turba doctorum' mean 'readers of poetry' (T. ii. 119; P. iii. 9. 45); 'docti viri' = 'poets' (T. ii. 419; iii. 14. 1); and 'docta' means an accomplished singer (A. A. iii. 320). See Ellis, *Comm. Catull.* p. 26. Thus Horace's famous line (*Epp.* ii. 1. 117) 'Scribimus indocti doctique poemata passim,' means no more than 'we are all scribblers of verse whether real poets or not.'

Translate: 'Write, ye accomplished poets, the story of my sorrows in place of those of the chieftain of Neritus; for sorrows more have I borne than the chieftain of Neritus.'

l. 59. *brevi spatio*, abl. of place, 'He wandered about in a confined space.'

in, 'in the course of.'

l. 60. *Dulichium* was an island south-east of Ithaca, which formed part of the kingdom of Ulysses.

l. 61. *sideribus totis distantia*, 'separated by entire constellations,' i. e. wholly visible at one place and not seen at the other (abl. of measure, R. 496); for Ovid seems to have looked upon Tomi as far north of Rome, whereas really the stars visible at Tomi would be very nearly the same as those at Rome, since the latitude of Rome is 41° 53' N., that of Tomi about 43° 46' N. Cp. iii. 10. 3, 'Suppositum stellis numquam tangentibus aequor Me sciat in media vivere barbaria;' P. ii. 7. 57, 'proiectus in aequor Arcturum subii Pleiadumque minas.'

(The usual explanation which makes *sideribus totis* = 'toto caelo' rests on no support.)

l. 62. Note (1) the antithesis between this line and 60; he came at last to his own country, I to a barbarous land; (2) the exact balancing of the words by which *Dulichias Piacasque* corresponds to the pair of proper adjectives *Geticos Sarmaticosque*.

l. 63. *socios fideles*, Homer's *ἐρίηρες ἑταῖροι*.

l. 64. Cp. P. ii. 7. 61, 'Recta fides comitum poterat mala nostra levare: Ditata est spoliis perfida turba meis.'

l. 67. *Samos* (a form found in Il. ii. 634; M. xiii. 711), usually called Same, is the Homeric name for the large island Cephallenia near Ithaca. This line is a reminiscence of Od. xvi. 123, *Δουλιχίῳ τε Σάμῃ τε καὶ ὑληέντι Ζακύνθῳ*.

l. 70. *inperii deumque locus*, a covert flattery of Augustus, who lived on the Palatine, amid the other gods of Rome (I. 69 n.).

l. 71. *patiens laborum*, Homer's *πολύτλας*.

l. 72. *ingenuae*, 'weak is my strength and gentle as my birth.' The strength of an 'ingenuus' is contrasted with the robustness of a slave, as

in Mart. x. 47. 6 (the happy man is he who has) 'vires ingenuae, salubre corpus, Prudens simplicitas, pares amici.' Cp. what he says of himself Am. ii. 10. 23 'graciles non sunt sine viribus artus;' P. i. 5. 52 'Mensque magis gracili corpore nostra valet.'

l. 75. *deus*, Augustus, 2. 3. So *infr. Iovis* 78 = Augusti.

l. 76. *bellatrix*, Pallas Athene, who sprang in full armour from the brain of Zeus, and was the patron of warlike prowess as well as the arts. Cp. Verg. Aen. xi. 483, 'armipotens, belli praeses, Tritonia virgo.'

l. 77. *cum*, 'whereas.'

l. 79. *illius pars maxima ficta laborum*, the charge of fictitious invention against Homer is as old as Aristotle, Poet. 25, *δεδίδαχε δὲ μάλιστ' Ὀμηρος καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ψευδῆ λέγειν ὡς δεῖ*. Cp. Hor. A. P. 151.

l. 82. *tamen*, 'and reached though late the land he had sought so long;' *tamen* is placed last for the sake of emphasis.

EL. VI.

This is the first of the series of epistles, eight in number (T. i. 6; iii. 3; iv. 3; v. 2. 1-44; v. 11; v. 14; P. i. 4; iii. 1), addressed to his wife (her birthday is celebrated in v. 5: cp. also i. 3, *supr.*; iv. 10. 73; Ib. 15), of whom he always speaks in the most affectionate terms. She was a Fabia by birth, a relative of P. Fabius Maximus, one of the poet's most intimate and most powerful friends. P. Fabius Maximus, through his wife Marcia, who was the daughter of L. Marcius Philippus and Atia the younger, was connected with the imperial family; for Atia the younger was the sister of Atia the elder, who by her first husband, C. Octavius, was the mother of Augustus the Emperor; and the two Atiae were the daughters of M. Atius Balbus and Julia, sister of Caesar the Dictator. Consequently Ovid's third wife was one of the ladies about the court, and enjoyed the familiar friendship of Marcia, the two Atiae, and Livia, the Empress herself: see *infr.* 25; P. i. 2. 139 'Hanc (Ovid's wife) probat et primo dilectam semper ab aevo Est inter comites Marcia censa suas, Inque suis habuit matertera Caesaris (Augustus' aunt, the younger Atia) ante: Quarum iudicio siqua probata, proba est.' See Masson, *Vit. Ov.* p. 45, ed. Fischer; Graeber, i. ix; Lorentz, p. 24, ff.

SUMMARY.—Wife, than whom was never one dearer, thou hast been my comfort in my trouble, and hast supported my interests at home, helped by a few firm friends, when a cruel and rapacious enemy, relying on my forlorn state, tried to despoil me of my property (1-16). There-

fore I offer my poor tribute of thanks to thee, who wilt hold a place among leal wives higher than any of the heroines of old time (17-22). Whether thy own high soul has prompted thee, or whether our great empress, whose society thou dost enjoy, has taught thee by her example how to play the part of a good wife, I know not (23-28). My powers are too weak and feeble rightly to sing thy praises; thou shouldst have held a foremost place among the great ladies of story. Still if my strains can give thee immortality, thou shalt enjoy it (29-34).

1. 1. *Clario poetae*. Antimachus of Claros, a small town near Colophon in Ionia (fl. circ. B. C. 405), wrote (1) a *Thebais*, an epic poem, on account of which he was ranked second among epic poets by Quintilian x. 1. 53; (2) *Lyde*, a long elegiac poem (*Λύδη καὶ παχὺ γράμμα καὶ οὐ τόπον*, Callim. fr. 441. Blomf.), composed to assuage his grief at the death of his loved wife or mistress Lyde (Plut. cons. Apoll. 106 b.). It contained an account of the misfortunes of all the mythical heroes who had been unfortunate in love, and was valuable as a storehouse of legend, and was probably one of the Greek models chiefly used by Ovid.

1. 2. *Coo*, Philetas (fl. circ. B. C. 300) of the island Cos, the tutor of Ptolemy Philadelphus II, was with Callimachus the joint inventor of the erotic elegy proper, and these two were the chief models of Propertius, and were much copied by Ovid. Philetas was probably less erudite than Callimachus, and wrote chiefly elegy and epigrams. Bittis (wrongly written Battis in the manuscripts, see Hertzberg, Q. P. p. 207) was the mistress celebrated by Philetas. Cp. P. iii. 1. 57 'nec te nesciri patitur mea pagina, qua non Inferius Coa Bittide nomen habes.' A. A. iii. 329, Rem. 760.

1. 4. *non meliore*. Ovid was both of a good equestrian family and a distinguished poet, and his wife was justly proud of him: cp. ii. 109. ff.; iv. 3. 55 'tempus ubi est, quo te—nisi non vis illa referri—Et dici, meminī, iuvat et esse meam?'

1. 5. *ruina*, 'thou hast been as it were the beam that propped my falling fortunes.' *Mea ruina* = 'ego in ruinoso statu' (supr. 5. 36 n.). Cp. P. ii. 3. 59 'Quaeque ita concussa est, ut iam casura putetur, Restat adhuc umeris fulta ruina tuis.'

1. 6. *muneris omne tui est*, possessive gen., 'all is the gift of thy liberality;' cp. Hor. Od. iv. 3. 21 'Totum muneris hoc tui est, Quod monstror digito praetereuntium Romanae fidicen lyrae.'

1. 8. See on 5. 17, and cp. Ibis 17, 'Cumque ego quassa meae complectar membra carinae Naufragii tabulas pugnat habere mei.'

1. 9. *famē*, as in Lucr. iii. 736; Verg. Aen. vi. 421; M. viii. 834, and often in Ovid; and in subsequent poets, Lucan. x. 58; Iuv. xv. 102. This simile of the wolf, and that in P. i. 2. 20, 'eques... moenia lustrat More lupi clausas circueuntis oves,' are probably reminiscences of Il. x. 485; xvi. 352; Verg. Aen. ix. 59.

1. 11. This comparison of his treacherous enemy, as also the somewhat similar one in v. 10. 19, 'ut avis, densissimus hostis Advocat et praedam vix bene visus agit,' to a vulture watching for his prey, are probably suggested by the proverbial use of the vulture to describe the greedy parasite; see Plaut. Truc. ii. 3. 16; Trin. i. 2. 64; Most. iii. 12. 47; Catull. lxviii. 124.

On *incustoditum* see v. 28 n., in Appendix.

1. 12. *corpus s. n. p. h.* = 'corpus inhumatum.'

1. 13. *nescio quis*. Probably the same as the 'ferus et nobis crudelior omnibus hostis' of ii. 77, and the enemy attacked in the Ibis; and in iii. 11, iv. 9, v. 8, and perhaps in P. iv. 3, whom he accuses of having brought about his exile.

male, 'in malignant confidence in my piteous plight.'

1. 14. *venturus fuit... si paterere*. As a general rule, subj. corresponds to subj., indic. to indic., in the protasis and apodosis of conditional sentences, but verbs expressing possibility, duty, a wish, necessity, fitness, and the periphrastic use of *esse* with the gerundive or fut. participle, are used regularly with a past tense of the indic., instead of subj., to express that such a thing *was* possible, right, etc. The indic. is used quite logically, because it states that the possibility, duty, etc., was the case, and has no reference to the acts themselves. Cp. 1. 126. (Instances from the Fasti are given on p. 332 of Mr. Hallam's edition.) Cp. 8. 17 n.

1. 15. *virtus*. He speaks of both the 'courage' and 'honour,' i.e. fidelity (*probitas*) of his wife, also in P. iii. 1. 93, 'Nota tua est *probitas* testataque tempus in omne: Sit *virtus* etiam non *probitate* minor.' Cp. what Cicero, also writing in exile, says to his wife Terentia: Fam. xiv. 1. 1, 'Ex litteris multorum et sermone omnium perfertur ad me incredibilem tuam *virtutem et fortitudinem* esse teque nec animi neque corporis laboribus defatigari.'

1. 17. *probaris* = 'proba iudicaris,' as in P. i. 2. 142, quoted in introd. to this poem. 'And so thou art deemed faithful in the eyes of a witness true as he is wretched, if so be that this witness carries aught of weight.' *Teste*, instr. abl., note the omission of *ab*, which would be required in prose. *Hic* is deictic, and means himself.

1. 19. *prior*, 'superior to' (a post-Ciceronian usage), corresponds to

secunda, 'inferior to,' in 22. The faithful wife of Hector is Andromache: see II. vi. 429; T. iv. 3. 29.

l. 20. *Laodamia* was the wife of Protesilaus, king of Phylace and the neighbouring towns. Leaving his wife behind him, he went to the Trojan War, and was killed first of all the Greeks, on leaping from his ship to shore (2. 403, hence Ausonius, Epigr. 20. 5, derives his name from *πρώτος + ἀλέσθαι*). H. xiii, of doubtful authenticity, is a letter from Laodamia to Protesilaus; see also T. v. 5. 57. The legend is beautifully treated in Wordsworth's *Laodamia*.

l. 21. *M. vatem*, 'Homer for your bard;' see on 1. 47.

l. 22. *Penelope* was the faithful wife of Ulysses, whose constancy to her husband during the ten years of the Trojan War, and the ensuing ten years of his wanderings, is celebrated in the *Odyssey*. Cp. 2. 375, 'Quid Odyssea est nisi femina propter amorem, Dum vir abest, multis una petita viris?' Cp. v. 5. 51. H. 1. is a letter from Penelope to Ulysses.

l. 23. 'Whether thou owest this to thyself, schooled in duteousness by no teacher, and thy disposition was assigned thee with thy life's fresh dawn, or whether it is the royal lady, attended by thee through all thy years, that teaches thee to be an example of a good wife.'

princeps (see on 1. 33) is here applied with studied adulation to Livia, the wife of Augustus.

nulli is dat. of agent.

l. 28. Cp. iii. 25 n.

ll. 29 foll. The usual explanation of these lines is to connect 31, 32 with 29, 30 (making the construction 'ei mihi quod non habent, etc., nostraque ora sunt minora et (quod) si quid fuit ante vigoris occidit'), and to make 33, 34 the apodosis to this protasis (= 'alioquin tu primum locum inter heroidas haberes')—'Alas! that I am too weak to sing you, *else* you would have held a foremost place.' But this necessitates (1) putting a comma at the end of 30, whereas in Ovid it is rare not to have a considerable break in the sense at the end of the pentameter; (2) supplying 'alioquin,' or some such word, the omission of which is very harsh.

This difficulty has led Riese and Ehwald to transpose 33, 34, making them follow 22, whilst Schenkl suggests that something has fallen out before 33. [I fancy a better order would be 20, 23-28, 21, 22, 33, 34, 29-32, 35, 36.—H. J. R.]

But it seems more natural, preserving the usual order, (1) not to connect 31, 32 with 29, 30 in construction; (2) not to connect 33, 34 with what precedes, but with what follows in sense. Translate: 'Ay me, that my verses have but puny strength, and my mouth (poet. pl.) is too

weak to hymn thy praises! Whatever of vital power too I had erewhile has all been quenched and died away for length of sorrow. Thou wouldst have held a foremost place among the hallowed ladies of old story, thou wouldst have been admired above all for thy soul's graces; still, as far as my heraldings shall avail, thou shalt live for ever in my verse.'

Thus *haberes* will be apodosis to an easily understood protasis, 'if my vigour had remained,' or perhaps may be jussive = 'habere debebas,' like Vergil's 'at tu dictis Albane maneres;' Aen viii. 643. Inter, note the anastrophe of the prep., see inf. 9. 11 n.

l. 35. *tamen* is consolatory, as in 1. 96.

With l. 31 cp. v. 12. 31, 32; and for *prima* = 'primum,' 9. 20 n.

EL. VII.

To a friend who had a portrait of the poet on a ring (p. 43). Lorentz (p. 43) suggests with much probability that the friend addressed in this poem was M. Iunius Brutus, to whom are inscribed P. i. 1, iii. 9, iv. 6. Of his affection to himself the poet speaks in strong terms in iv. 6. 23. To Brutus also T. iii. 14 seems to be addressed, where Ovid appeals to him, in consideration of his great love for poetry and poets, to assume the patronage and protection of all his works, the *Ars Amandi* alone excepted, and more especially of the *Metamorphoses*, just published, and the third book of the *Tristia*. Here it is on behalf of the *Metamorphoses* alone that he seeks his advocacy. This poem, in despair of completing it, he had burnt, on learning of his exile; but it had been preserved in copies possessed by friends, and he now asks to have it published for him.

SUMMARY.—'Each one that possesses a copy of my features, take from my brow the poet's ivy crown.' Such is my message to thee, O friend, whose name I forbear to mention,—to thee who carriest always with thee my portrait on thy ring, to remind thee of thy lost friend (1-10). I thank thee for thy thoughtfulness, but a far better memorial of myself is my *Metamorphoses*. This poem, in my disgust, I burnt on leaving Rome, it may be because I hated poetry that had been my ruin, or it may be because my work was incomplete (11-22). But since it still survives in copies preserved by my friends, let it live to remind men of me. Though the reader must judge it with all allowance, for it has never received the finishing touch from its author's hand (23-32). Six

lines I enclose to introduce it to the world, telling how it is the unrevised poem of a poor exile, published by others for him in his absence (33-40).

ll. 1-4 is an address to anyone who happens to possess a copy of the poet's features, couched purposely in general terms, though having special reference to the friend addressed. Such busts (*imagines*) of poets were a common ornament of the libraries of literary men (Mayor, *Iuv.* vii. 29); and in asking that the ivy-crown may be removed, he is thinking of some such actual image; for the ivy-crown could hardly be removed from the small medallion on a ring. Having delivered his general message, he tells his friend (l. 5), who possesses a ring with a likeness of himself upon it, that he is here the subject of his address.

l. 1. *si quis*, like *ὅστις* in Greek, for which *εἴ τις* is often almost equivalent, has no conditional force (Reid on Pro Sulla, § 31): so *inf.* 28, *si quis* = 'whoever,' and 9. 26, *si quid* = 'whatever.'

The message is put indefinitely, not because he is uncertain himself who the particular friend of whom he is now thinking is, but because, from motives of respect, he wishes to conceal his name; cp. Vergil's use of 'quisquis,' and in addressing gods, whose personality is known to the speaker, from motives of reverence, e. g. *Aen.* ix. 22.

similes in imagine vultus, 'a copy of my features on the image' on your ring. The engravings on rings were chiefly portraits of ancestors, or, as here, friends, and subjects connected with mythology, the worship of the gods, or mythical history of the family (*Dict. A.* 96 b).

l. 2. *hederas*. Ivy was associated with Bacchus, because the spike at the end of the thyrsus, which might be used as a weapon, was concealed with leaves of ivy (or in some accounts vine-leaves or fir-cones), which plant grew abundantly at Nysa, a village on Mount Helicon, fabled to have been the home of the boy Bacchus (*Ellis, Catull.* lxiv. 256; Mayor, *Iuv.* vii. 64). Another reason given is that the nymphs covered the cradle of the infant Bacchus with ivy (*F.* iii. 769, 'Nysiadas nymphas puerum quaerente noverca Hanc frondem cunis opposuisse ferunt'); thus Bacchus is represented as crowned with ivy. He is constantly associated with Apollo and the Muses as the patron of poets (*Prop.* iii. (iv.) 2. 7; Hertzberg on ii. 30. 37); and the ivy-crown of poets is a commonplace, either, says Servius, because the poet's fine frenzy of inspiration resembles that of the frenzied Bacchant, or because poems are immortal and ever green, like the ivy-leaves (*Serv. Ec.* vii. 25; cp. *Hor. Epp.* i. 19. 4; Ovid, *P.* i. 5. 31, 'an populus vere sanos negat esse poetas?'). The more probable reason, 'who drinks most wine hath the most wit' (Cleveland), is assigned by Propertius iv. (v.) 6. 75, 'inge-

nium potis irritat musa poetis: Bacche, soles Phoebos fertilis esse tuo.' In *P.* iv. 14. 55 we learn that Ovid was crowned publicly by the people of Tomi: 'Tempora sacrata mea sunt velata corona Publicus invito quam favor inposuit.'

l. 4. *temporibus*, 'circumstances:' cp. iii. 1. 10, 'nihil hic nisi triste videbis, Carmine temporibus conveniente suis.'

l. 5. 'Pretend that this letter is not written to thee, yet, best of friends, be sensible that it is so.' The imperative *senti* is a little harsh, as a command, though not sufficiently so to make it necessary to accept the *sentiis tamen* of the inferior MSS.

l. 6. *fersque refersque*, 'carriest about,' i. e. hither and thither: cp. *F.* vi. 334, 'errantes fertque refertque pedes.'

l. 7. *complexus* refers to a gem set in the ring; cp. v. 4. 6 (where he is speaking of his own signet ring), 'nec qua signabar, ad os est Ante, sed ad madidas gemma relata genas;' ii. 451 = *Tibull.* i. 6. 25; *Am.* ii. 15. 15; *P.* ii. 10. 1, 'Ecquid ab impressae cognoscis imagine gemmae (al. cerae), Haec tibi Nasonem scribere verba, Macer.' Roman rings at this period were usually made entirely of gold, and the work of art, which gave its chief value to the ring, was commonly engraved on the metal itself, the use of gems being confined to wealthy persons (*Daremberg and Saglio, Dict. A. s. v. anulus*).

l. 8. *quae potes* restricts the meaning of *ora*, 'and seest thy exiled friend's dear face in such fashion as thou canst.' This restricting use of the relative pron. is common in Ovid; cp. *supr.* 1. 16; iii. 3. 57; iv. 3. 18; *H.* x. 53. (*Quae* in 9 also refers to *ora*.)

l. 10. *Nasō*, always a trochee in Ovid. See 1. 87 n. in Appendix. *sodalis*, 3. 65 n.

l. 11. *carmina*, the Metamorphoses; see 1. 117; ii. 63, 'Inspice maius opus, quod adhuc sine fine tenetur, In non credendos corpora versa modos.' *Ibid.* 555 ff.; iii. 14. 19 ff.

l. 12. *legas*, jussive dependent on *mando*.

qualiacumque, depreciatory, 'my poems slight as they are;' cp. *infr.* 11. 18.

l. 13. *dicentia*, 2. 103 n. The reference is to *M.* i. 1, 'In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas Corpora.'

l. 14. *infelix*, join with *fuga*.

l. 15. *bene multa*, 'full many;' *H.* i. 44, 'bene cantus.' 'Bene' is thus used as an intensive adv. even in Cicero, see *L.* and *S. s. v. bene*, ii. 1.

l. 16. *ipse*. This redundant use of *ipse* to add emphasis is very common in Ovid. See ii. 2. 86, 368; iv. 3. 66; 4. 70; v. 1. 10; 4. 45; 12. 48.

l. 17. *sub stipite*. The life of Meleager is identified with the brand, and, so to speak, exists in and underneath it. Thus the mother is said

to burn her son, 'inclosed in a brand'—'in the brand that inclosed his life' (R. Ellis).

l. 18. *Thestias*. Althaea, daughter of Thestius, king of Aetolia, was the wife of Oeneus, king of Calydon, and mother of Meleager. At his birth she received from the Fates a brand (*stipes*), on the preservation of which her son's life depended. The kingdom of Oeneus was devastated by a huge wild boar, sent by Diana in anger for his neglect of her; and the monster was killed by Meleager, in a great hunt organized by Oeneus, to which all the chiefs of the country round were invited. Meleager presented the boar's head to his mistress Atalanta, and afterwards killed his two uncles, Plexippus and Toxeus, who wished to deprive her of it. Their sister Althaea (who was thus better sister than mother), learning this, burnt the fatal brand, which caused Meleager to die in great agony. The story is told in *M.* viii. 260-546. See Swinburne's *Atalanta* in Calydon.

l. 19. 'Even so I placed upon a ravening pyre my poor books that had done no wrong, my very flesh and blood doomed thus to die with me.' Again he speaks of his exile metaphorically as his death; and his books, being a part of himself, are his own flesh, as it were (*viscera* is properly whatever is beneath the skin, the flesh); for he is their *parens* (*infr.* 35; *I.* 115; *iii.* 1. 66).

l. 20. *rapidus* (*rapio*), in its original sense nearly = 'rapax,' and so is constantly applied to heat, as devouring. Thus Ovid uses it of 'flamma' (*M.* ii. 123; *xii.* 274; *P.* iv. 8. 29; *Ibis* 475); 'ignis' (*M.* vii. 326; *T.* ii. 425; *iv.* 8. 46; *P.* iii. 3. 60); the sun, in the sense of 'scorching' (*Am.* iii. 6. 106; *M.* viii. 225); and the fire on Mount Aetna (*T.* v. 2. 75).

l. 21. *crimina nostra*, 'the ground of my incrimination.' *Nostra* is used objectively instead of 'nostri,' 'the charge against me;' the *Ars Amatoria* was the reason alleged for his banishment.

Two possible (not mutually exclusive, as is shown by the use of *vel . . . vel*) reasons are assigned why he burnt the *Metamorphoses*: (1) because his *Ars Amatoria* was the reason alleged for his exile; (2) because the work itself was unfinished, and, by implication, never would be so, in consequence of the trouble that had paralysed its writer's inspiration, and possibly also of his absence from Rome and its libraries, which would render the completion of such a learned poem impossible. He repeats the statement that the work never received his final revision, *ii.* 555 ff.; *iii.* 14. 21 ff.

l. 23. *quæ*, neut. pl. not agreeing with *viscera* (20), which the interposition of 21, 22 would make harsh, but indef. neut. pl. 'this work.' So in *ii.* 239-242 he passes from speaking of his *Ars Amatoria* to the neut. pl. 'At si, quod malle, vacuum fortasse fuisset, Nullum legisses.

crimen in Arte mea. *Ille* quidem fateor frontis non esse severae Scripta, nec a tanto principe digna legi.'

l. 26. *mei*, objective gen. after verb of reminding.

l. 28. *si quis*. See on 1.

l. 29. *mediis incudibus*, from the middle of the anvil (abl. of separation), i. e. in the middle of the forging. *Incus* is thus metaphorically applied to verse-making in *Hor.* A. P. 441.

l. 30. *lima*, also a metaphor from the smithy, means properly 'a file,' and so 'polishing,' 'revision.' Cp. *Hor.* A. P. 291.

l. 32. *tibi*, dat. of agent: [shows the way in which the dat. is used for the agent with gerundive and pass. participles. 'I shall be to thee not disliked' = not disliked by thee.—H. J. R.]

l. 36. *his saltem*, to these poems at any rate if not to their writer.

l. 37. *edere* is especially used of publishing books, hence our 'edit,' 'edition.'

ipso, the author himself, as distinguished from his friends: so *Verg.* *Aen.* viii. 304, 'ipse' distinguishes Cacus from his cave, *ibid.* i. 40, the crews from their ships. Thus 'ipse' and 'ipsa,' in the comic poets = 'the master (or mistress) himself,' as distinguished from every one else.

l. 38. *funere*. 'Funus' is defined by Servius (*Aen.* ii. 539) to be 'iam ardens cadaver.' The imagery is rather confused. His exile was his death; his day of departure was his funeral. In his disgust he burnt his copy of the *Metamorphoses* on that day; but other copies were saved. Hence it might be said to be snatched from the burning of its master's body. Cp. *iii.* 14. 20.

l. 40. *eram*, supported by the best MSS, involves a change of person, which was no doubt less harsh to Roman than to our ears (see Conington on *Aen.* viii. 293). The individuality of the author triumphs, involving the abandonment of the third person, which might to us be illustrated by the difficulty of maintaining the third person throughout a letter. See Shakspeare, *Hen. V.* iv. 3. 35, where 'Henry V begins by dictating a proclamation, but under the influence of indignation passes into the imperative of the proclamation itself.' (Abbott, *Shakspearian Grammar*, § 415.)

EL. VIII.

Addressed to a friend who had deserted him, probably the Macer to whom *Am.* ii. 18, and *P.* ii. 10 are inscribed. It is conjectured that this was the Pompeius Macer, whom Augustus chose to superintend the arrangement of the public libraries of Rome (*Suet.* *Caes.* 56, 'cui

ordinandas bybliotheças delegaverat'): at any rate he was a man of strong literary tastes, sympathy in which formed the salient feature of his friendship with Ovid. He wrote an epic poem (antehomerica) on the affairs of the Trojan war previous to the quarrel of the chiefs in Iliad i. (Hennig, pp. 22, 23); and it was no doubt common interest in the scenes rendered famous by Homer, the great master, and the other poets of Greece, that led Macer and Ovid to travel in company together through Asia Minor and Sicily, as described in P. ii. 10. 21 ff.: cp. infr. 33, 34. He was moreover connected through his wife with Ovid; possibly the wives of the two were sisters (Wölffel, Briefe aus dem Pontus, Stuttgart, p. 2207: cp. P. ii. 10. 9, 'Quam tu vel longi debes convictibus aevi, Vel mea quod coniunx non aliena tibi,' with infra 29, 'Quid nisi convictu causisque valentibus essem Temporis et longi vincetus amore tibi?').

With the poem generally compare Catullus xxx.

SUMMARY.—All the laws of nature, I say to myself, will surely be reversed, now that my old friend, from whom I looked for help in my affliction, has deserted me (1-10). How couldst thou have the heart to leave me so, without one word of comfort, trampling on the sacred name of friendship? It would not at any rate have cost thee much to simulate some decent sorrow at my plight, even if unfelt, and at least to bid me farewell. And now others, who were almost strangers to me, have been left to do this (11-28). Though our intimacy was of long standing, and we had travelled through the world together, yet all this is forgotten by thee (29-36). Surely the gentle city of Rome cannot have given thee birth, but rather some flinty crag of Scythia; thy heart must be of iron, thy mother some tigress, else I should not have had to reproach thee for this unfeeling neglect (37-46). But redress, I pray, this wrong, and let not the end of thy friendship be so unworthy its beginning (47-50).

ll. 1 foll. Ovid is fond of illustrating improbabilities by a string of impossibilities such as this: see v. 13. 21; M. xiii. 324-326; xiv. 37-39; P. ii. 4. 25-30; iv. 5. 41-44; vi. 45-50; Ibis 31-40. Cp. Hdt. v. 92, ἢ δὴ ὁ τε οὐρανὸς ἔσται ἐνερθε τῆς γῆς, καὶ ἡ γῆ μετέωρος ὑπὲρ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, καὶ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νομὸν ἐν θαλάσῃ ξέουσι, καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες τὸν πρότερον ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε γε ὑμεῖς, ὦ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ἰσοκρατίας καταλύοντες, τυραννίδας ἐς τὰς πόλεις κατάγειν παρασκευάζεσθε.

l. 1. *caput* is the source, as in P. iv. 6. 46, 'Hister In caput Euxino de mare vertet iter;' and *alta* increases the incredibility of the proposi-

tion. It would be harder for a deep than a shallow stream to flow backward to its source. This expression was proverbial among the Greeks for what seemed to violate the laws of nature (*naturae prae-postera legibus*: cp. Hesych. ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπ' ἐναντία γενομένων); Eur. Med. 410 (a passage which Ovid may have had in his mind), ἀνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί, Καὶ δίκαια καὶ πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται; H. v. 29, 'Xanthe, retro propera, versaeque recurrere lymphae!' Hor. Od. i. 29. 10; Prop. ii. 15. (iii. 6) 33; iii. 19. 16.

l. 2. Again modelled on the Greek; Hdt. viii. 143, νῦν δὲ ἀπάγγελλε Μαρδονίῳ ὡς Ἀθηναῖοι λέγουσι, ἔστ' ἂν ὁ ἥλιος τὴν αὐτὴν ὁδὸν ἦ τῆπερ καὶ νῦν ἔρχεται, μήποτε ὁμολογήσειν ἡμέας Ξέρξῃ.

l. 3. *terra feret stellas*: it was believed that the stars were fixed into the sky; thus Atlas, 'axem (=the sky) umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum,' Verg. Aen. iv. 482.

l. 4. *dabit*, repeated, by a mannerism common in Ovid: cp. iii. 1. 53, 'me miserum! vereorque locum vereorque potentem;' v. 4. 2, 'Nasonis epistula veni Lassaque facta mari lassaque facta via;' 12. 17, 'ut veniant patriae, veniant oblivia vestri.'

l. 7. *negabant*, 'men used to deny,' the subject being general, as in Cic. Rabir. Post. § 34, 'quia nunc aiunt, quod tunc negabant.'

l. 8. *sit*, consecutive subj.

fides, 'belief.'

l. 11. *cepere oblivia*, from Lucr. vi. 1213, 'atque etiam quosdam cepere oblivia rerum.'

l. 12. *adffictum*, 'fallen from my high estate.'

l. 13. *respiceres*, 'regard the interests of.' 'It is not much stronger than our "respect," but has a different connotation, implying rather regard for one's wishes or interests. Cp. Ter. Haut. 70, *nullum remittis tempus, neque te respicis*, "you don't consider yourself." (Wilkins on Hor. Epp. i. 1. 105.)

iacentem, 'prostrate' in misery, opposite to *dum stetimus*; infr.

9. 17.

l. 14. *exsequias prosequerere meas*, i. e. accompany me as I left Rome. Cp. supr. 3. 89; 7. 38 n.

l. 16. It seems very doubtful whether Ovid would have tolerated the expression, 'iacet tibi re pro vili,' for 'est tibi re pro vili;' P. i. ii. 15, 'hostibus in mediis interque pericula versor,' quoted by Lörs, is not parallel; for both 'versor in mediis hostibus' and 'versor inter pericula' might be said indifferently. Accordingly, I have ventured to insert *est* after *vili*, a word which might easily drop out before *sub*.

l. 17. *quid* = 'how small a thing;' cp. Cic. Fam. iv. 14. 4, 'velim indices, me . . . quamquam videam, qui sine hoc tempore et *quid* (how

little) *possim* . . . *saluti tuae praesto futurum.*' Compare the use of *quantus* for 'how little,' Hor. S. ii. 4. 81.

fuit = 'fuisset.' Latin writers often use verbs and phrases expressing *duty, necessity, propriety, possibility*, etc., in the Past Indicative Tenses instead of the Conjunctive, to indicate that it was proper or possible at that time to do something which, however, was not done.' Kennedy, L. Gr. p. 336: cp. on 6. 14; infr. 9. 56.

l. 18. *parte* is adverbial. The reading of most MSS. *alloquii parte tui* can hardly be right, for 'a share in your consolation' is barely intelligible.

l. 19. *lacrimam*, the singular is intentionally used with a tinge of pathos, 'one poor tear.' Gray's Elegy: 'He gave to Misery all he had, a tear.'

l. 20. *tamen* [is applicable to the whole line, and *ficto dolore* is abl. of circumstance. 'If you could not drop a tear, still you might affect grief and bear with (uttering) a few words.'—H. J. R.] For *pati* cp. M. 2. 86, where Phoebus says of the horses of the sun, 'vix me . . . patiuntur.'

l. 21. *vel dicere saltem*, 'And at least if you will to say what mere strangers do; and to follow the example set thee by a nation's words and a people's face.' He might, at any rate, have expressed such regret in word and look as the general public showed, even though he afforded no active consolation such as even strangers gave. The idea of *dicere* is expanded in l. 22, and *ignoti* is defined as = *populus*.

For *vel* = 'even, if you like.' Cp. v. 6. 27, 'nec procul a vero est, quin vel pulsarit amicum;' and for the expression *sequi ora*, ii. 88, 'quaque Debut est vultus turba secuta tuos.'

(*valē dicere*, the reading of the MSS. cannot stand, as *cavē* and *vidē* (Phaedr. iii. 6. 3; Pers. i. 108) are the only such imperatives shortened in classical writers (see on 1. 25); and Verg. Ecl. iii. 79, 'valē, valē, inquit, Iolla,' is a mere Grecism.)

l. 23. 'Last of all to behold on that my last day (at Rome) and as long as thou couldst, those mournful looks of mine that thou shouldst never see again.' Notice the heavy rhythm of the line, expressive of the heaviness of his spirit. *Licuit* is perfect because of *fuit*, the tense in both clauses being generally (cp. 9. 17 n.) the same when *dum* = 'all the time that.'

numquam = 'numquam amplius:' 'de rebus non iterum agendis dicitur, ut sit *nicht wieder.*' Hand. Tursell. iv. 328, who quotes this passage, and H. ii. 99, 'qui me numquam visurus abisti.'

l. 26. *vale* is here treated as a substantive (agreeing with *dicendum*), as in supr. 3. 57; iii. 3. 88, 'quod, tibi qui mittit, non habet ipse, vale.'

l. 28. *animi*, 'their feelings.'

l. 29. *quid* is elliptical; the construction is '*quid* (faceres' or 'fecisses) *nisi vinctus essem? quid* (faceres' or 'fecisses') *nisi nosses . . . nossem?* and *nisi* = 'si non.' Translate: 'What *wouldst* thou have done if I had not been bound to thee by intercourse and potent ties, and long enduring affection? What *wouldst* thou have done if thou hadst not known all my sports and all my serious moments, and if I had not known all thy sports and serious moments too?' i. e. you could not have acted more cruelly if you had not known me intimately, if you had been a perfect stranger, whereas precisely the contrary is the case.

For the references in *causisque valentibus* see introd. to this El. Cp. P. iv. 3. 13, 'Ille ego, qui primus tua seria nosse solebam Et tibi iucundis primus adesse iocis.'

l. 33. *quid*, again elliptical. The participle *adscitus* is equivalent to 'cum contra adscitus esses.' Translate: 'What *wouldst* thou have done if thou hadst been known to me at Rome merely, thou who wast so often summoned by me to every kind of resort,' i. e. you could not have acted more harshly, if I had been a mere casual acquaintance at Rome, whereas as a fact I continually travelled about with you from place to place.

l. 35. *aequoreos*. Is all our former affection cast to the winds of the ocean? Cp. Hor. Od. i. 26. 1, 'Mysis amicus tristitiam et metus Tradam protervis in mare Creticum Portare ventis.' The adjective may be illustrated by Swinburne's 'With stars and *sea-winds* for her raiment, Night sinks on the sea.'

l. 36. *Lethaeis*, cp. iv. 1. 47, 'Utque soporiferae biberem si pocula Lethes, Temporis adversi sic mihi sensus abest;' 9. 2, 'et tua Lethaeis acta dabuntur aquis.'

l. 37. *placida*, 'gentle,' as in iv. 5. 20, 'dum veniat placido mollior aura deo;' P. i. 2. 103; iii. 4. 9, where 'placido lectore' = 'gentle reader.'

l. 38. Notice the deep affection conveyed by the repetition of the pronouns *mea—mihi*. *Mihi* is dat. of agent; and 'est' is omitted, see 1. 18 n.

l. 39. The common place that the hard-hearted must have been born among the hard rocks is found first in Homer Il. xvi. 35; and is very common in Ovid, see iii. 11. 3; H. vii. 35; x. 132.

sinistri, supr. 2. 83 n.

l. 41. *silicis venae*, from Verg. Geor. i. 135; Aen. vi. 7. Cp. Am. iii. 6. 59, 'Ille habet et silices et vivum in pectore ferrum Qui tenero lacrimas lentus in ore videt;' H. x. 109, 'Illic tu silices, illic adamanta tulisti, Illic qui silices, Thesea, vincat, habes;' M. ix. 613, 'neque enim de

tigride natus, Nec rigidas silices solidumve in pectore ferrum Aut adamanta gerit, nec lac bibit ille leaenae.'

l. 42. *ferri semina*, an imitation of the 'ignis semina' of Lucr. vi. 160, and 'semina flammae' of Verg. Aen. vi. 6. Cp. H. x. 107 'non poterant figi praecordia ferrea cornu;' M. vii. 32 'Hoc ego si patiar, tum me de tigride natam, Tum ferrum et scopulos gestare in corde fatebor.'

l. 43. *tenero ducenda palato*, 'to be sucked by thy tender mouth.' *Ducere* = 'to suck,' with *ubera*, is found in F. ii. 419 'Marte satos scires: timor afruit, ubera ducunt, Nec sibi promissi lactis aluntur ope;' M. ix. 358 'materna rigescere sentit Vbera, nec sequitur ducentem lacteus umor.'

l. 45. *aut* = 'alioquin,' 'otherwise.' As in M. x. 50, 'Hanc [Eurydicen] simul et legem Rhodopeius accipit heros, Ne flectat retro sua lumina . . . *aut* irrita dona futura;' H. x. 112 '*aut* semel aeterna nocte premenda fui' ('I should never have slept at all, or else I should have slept for ever;') Hor. A. P. 42, 'ordinis haec virtus erit et venus, *aut* ego fallor;' Verg. Aen. x. 630, 'Nunc manet insontem gravis exitus, *aut* ego veri Vana feror.' This use is not confined to poetry, but is found even in Cicero: see de Or. ii. § 5, 'omnia . . . bene sunt ei dicenda, qui hoc se posse profiteretur, *aut* eloquentiae nomen relinquendum est;' Fin. iv. § 72, where Madvig says, 'persaepe sic paulo laxius per *aut* declaratur, quid futurum sit, aut, ut hic, quid fieri debeat debueritve, si ab eo, quod ante dictum sit, discedatur.'

With *quam nunc* must be supplied '*aliena putas*.' Translate: 'Else thou wouldst have thought my misfortunes less strange to thee than now thou dost;' i. e. you would have thought that they came home to you as much as to me. See Appendix on this line.

putares . . . agerere, are hypothetical subjunctives, expressing a result not now possible; R. 642: cp. 638 c. For the meaning of *agerere* see on l. 24.

ll. 47 foll. 'But since to the losses fate has brought upon me there is added this one more, that our past is robbed of its consummation, O let me but forget this fault of thine,' etc.

carere numeris = to be imperfect, to lack perfection, *numeri* being, in one of its meanings, the parts of which anything is made up; thus in Cic. N. D. ii. § 37 it is joined with *partes*, 'undique aptum atque perfectum omnibus suis numeris et partibus.' Cp. M. i. 427 'animalia . . . quaedam imperfecta suisque Trunca vident numeris;' Cic. Fin. iii. § 24, 'quae autem nos aut recta aut recte facta dicamus, si placet — illi autem appellant *κατορθώματα* — omnes numeros virtutis continent,' a translation of the Greek *κατορθώματα δ' εἶναι λέγουσι καθήκον*

πάντας ἐπέχον τοὺς ἀριθμούς. Conversely, 'desse suis numeris' = to be imperfect; Am. iii. 7. 18, 'cum desit numeris ipsa iuventa suis.'

l. 48. *tempora prima* = 'tempora prima nostrae amicitiae,' the beginning of our friendship lacks its remaining component parts, i. e. does not correspond to the end.

l. 50. *laudem*, supply *ut* from *ne*, 49. So in 9. 8 *ut* is understood from the preceding *ut*; and in 11. 30 *ne* from the preceding *ne*.

EL. IX.

There is much probability that the Carus, to whom P. iv. 13 is inscribed, is addressed in this El. as well as in T. iii. 5. This Carus, himself a poet, who wrote an epic on the achievements of Hercules, was the tutor of the sons of Germanicus Caesar, adopted son of Tiberius (P. iv. 13. 47). This influential position is probably the success alluded to in the present poem; for though we are forbidden by chronology from supposing that Caligula, born A. D. 12, was under the supervision of Carus at this time, since he was not born when this poem was written, A. D. 9, yet Carus might possibly have been already entrusted with the charge of the child Nero, the first son of Germanicus and Agrippina, who was born A. D. 6, and was at this time about three years old, and possibly of Drusus, born in the summer of A. D. 7 (Furneaux, Tacitus, p. 144; Lorentz, p. 48; Hennig, p. 26).

Many inferior manuscripts begin a fresh elegy at 39, which has led Merkel to divide this elegy into two distinct poems, supposing each part to be addressed to a separate person, and making the second begin at 37. Besides the MSS. evidence, he argues that the subjects of the two parts are distinct: in 1—36 the poet deplors the desertion of his friends, in 37—66 he congratulates a friend on his success. But (1) the majority of MSS, including the best LGV.¹, do not so divide the poem; and those which do so, divide it at 39 not at 37. Also this division proves little; for there are innumerable passages in the Tristia where the beginning of a fresh elegy is noted at quite impossible places in the inferior MSS, so as to destroy their authority in this respect. Thus in a thirteenth century MS. at Arras, examined by me, which marks a division in this El. at 39, a new poem is begun at ii. 27, *His precor*; and, conversely, two elegies, or even more, are constantly united into one, thus iv. 4, 5, 6 are written in the same MS. as one poem. (2) The argu-

¹ In H. there is a mark in the margin at 39 denoting a fresh elegy, but apparently by another hand than that of the scribe who wrote the text.

ment of the poem, as analysed below, gives excellent sense, and shows a homogeneous whole. The description of the writer's own adversity in the first part leads him, by a natural contrast, to speak in the second of his friend's prosperity.

SUMMARY.—Mayest thou, my friend, reach the limit of thy life without any accident such as has befallen me (1-4). But be not deceived by thy success; remember that though all are friends to the prosperous, when once the light of his fortune is obscured the troop of friends vanishes away like a shadow (5-14). I pray that this may not be true in thy case, which has been but too true in mine. When misfortune befel me, all turned their backs upon me, fearing to bring mischief on themselves if they stood by me (15-22). And yet they need not have feared; for Caesar's great soul can appreciate constancy even in an enemy (23-26). And examples of such appreciation abound in the storied legends of antiquity (27-34). And if kind feeling is exhibited towards enemies, my friends should surely show it to me. Alas! that my words can move so few, despite that my estate is so wretched as to deserve all commiseration (35-38). But sad though I am for myself, I am cheered by thy success, which I foresaw long ago. Thy character, thy blameless life, thy culture and address, all combined to make me predict it (39-52). Therefore I congratulate thee that thy genius has been discovered, though I wish that my own had remained in obscurity, and not brought about my ruin (53-58). Yet thou knowest that my Art of Love was but a youthful production; that it was not earnest, and that my character is pure. Therefore, though my conduct, I know, cannot be defended, it still may be excused; I pray thee find for it some excuse, and act as my defender (59-66).

1. 1. 'May it be thy lot to reach life's goal without a stumble, thou who readest this work of mine in no unfriendly mood.'

The metaphor, which has passed into our own language, is from a chariot-race in the circus, in which there were two *metae* or turning-posts, one at each extremity of the course, the first (*meta prima*) from which the chariots started, the second (*meta secunda*) where the first turn was made. There were seven laps or circuits in a race, and skill in driving consisted in shaving so near the *metae* as neither to come into collision with them (*inoffenso*), nor to allow the antagonist to cut in between. The *meta*, from which the start was made, served also as the winning-post, hence the word is frequently used metaphorically for the goal of action or life (Rich. s. v. *meta* 1). We find it so used in the sin-

gular in A. A. ii. 727, 'ad metam properate simul,' and in the plural T. iv. 8. 35, 'nec procul a metis, quas paene tenere videbar, Curriculo gravis est facta ruina meo.' [See my note on Hor. A. P. 412.—A. S. W.]

On *inoffenso* see v. 28 n. in Appendix.

1. 3. *possent*, optative use of the subj. In such cases the present and perfect subj. are used of wishes which are conceived of as possible, while the imperf. subj. is used of wishes which can no longer be fulfilled, the pluperf. when the wish could no longer have been fulfilled in the past. Thus *utinam possim*, = 'I wish I may be able;' *utinam possem* = 'I wish I could,' but I cannot. In the present passage, though giving vent to a wish for his friend's lifelong prosperity, he expresses himself in a tone of despondency: I wish that my prayers, which have been of no avail in my own case, could have weight in yours, though I feel that my prayers are powerless. Thus there is no reason to read *possint* against the balance of MSS. authority.

1. 5. *donec eris . . . numerabis*, the tenses correspond, as usual in such cases, in the two clauses; R. 695. For the sentiment cp. supr. 5. 27.

1. 7. *adspicis ut veniant*. The subj. is used because of the indirect question depending on *ut* = 'how?' Cp. v. 14. 35, 'Adspicis, ut longo teneat laudabilis aevo Nomen inextinctum Penelopea fides?'

Translate: 'Dost thou see how doves come trooping to shelters that are white, while yon mouldering turret houses never a bird?' See Appendix.

1. 10. *ad amissas opes* = 'to one who has lost his wealth.'

1. 11. *radios per solis*. Notice the anastrophe of the preposition, which is not uncommon in Ovid, either (*a*) the substantive preceding and an adjective following, P. i. 1. 13, 'novitate sub ipsa;' 2. 15, 'hostibus in mediis;' 35, 'lignum in ullum;' 5. 27, 'tempus ad hoc' (cp. Ibis 1); or (*b*), as here, between a substantive and dependent gen.; cp. infr. 10. 15, 'mare in Helles;' P. i. 2. 82, 'terga per amnis;' 8. 33, 'pulcræ loca ad urbis;' F. iii. 733, 'nomine ab auctoris.' In 6. 33 both substantive and adjective precede the preposition.

1. 12. *hic* is used of the sun, though more remote in the sentence than *umbra*, because the disappearance of the sun precedes that of the shade in order of time: see on 2. 24.

1. 13. Note the ingenuity of the simile. Just as his shadow follows a man who walks in the sunlight, so the fickle crowd of clients follows a man so long as he enjoys the sunlight of fortune; but when fortune's sunlight is hidden, the clients too vanish like shadows. Washietl (p. 96) thinks that this is one of the passages in which Ovid shows his study of Lucretius; cp. Lucr. iv. 364 ff. For the sentiment see supr. 5. 29; v. 8. 7 ff.

l. 14. nocte. The word is intended to suggest the gloom of misfortune, in which all the brightness of life is obscured, and is contrasted with lumina.

l. 15. 'I pray that thou mayest always have cause to think these tales unreal, though we needs must confess them real in consequence of what has befallen me.'

l. 16. eventu meo, causal abl. Cp. ii. 125; Cic. pro Mur. § 55, 'huius eventum fortunamque miserari.'

l. 17. dum stetimus . . . habebat is irregular, for where dum = 'so long as' is used, the tense is generally the same in both clauses (so the usage is given in Kühner, ii. 907; R. 695; L. Gr. 1667; see Holtze, ii. 128; cp. 8. 23 n.). In Cic. where dum is used with the perfect, there is always a perf. in the principal clause, except in one doubtful instance of a future in Verr. iii. § 224 (see Merguet, Lex. Cic.). But with regard to other writers, the statement of the usage in the grammars requires to be modified. For besides this passage, dum with perf. is found with an imperf. in the main clause in iii. 7. 23, 'dum licuit, tua saepe mihi, tibi nostra legebam;' Verg. Aen. i. 268, 'Ilus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno;' and in Tac. (whose style is somewhat poetical) A. iii. 21. 6, 'dum ea ratio barbaro fuit . . . Romanum inpune ludificabatur;' vi. 40. 4, 'Lepida . . . impunita agebat, dum superfuit pater Lepidus.' And conversely, dum, with the imperf. is found where there is a perf. in the main clause: T. v. 3. 5, 'inter quos . . . dum me mea fata sinebant . . . , pars fui.' In P. ii. 3. 26, dum with perf. stands in apposition to a perf. participle.

stare = 'to stand unshaken in prosperity,' is the opposite of iacere, 8. 13. Cp. v. 14. 21, 'tua, dum stetimus, turpi sine crimine mansit . . . probitas;' Verg. Aen. i. 263 (quoted above), and ii. 88; and for the origin of the metaphor, M. iii. 131, 'iam stabant Thebae.'

esset is consecutive subj., R. 704.

l. 18. ambitiosa, 'ambitiosus et qui ambit et qui ambitur,' Gellius, ix. 12. Here the word is usually construed as passive, 'a house well-known, yet not greatly courted.' But as in most other passages Ovid uses 'ambitiosus' actively, as 'honour-loving,' it is better to explain it so here: 'A house well-known, yet not eager to attract admirers.' For ambitiosus see iv. 3. 68; v. 7. 28; Am. i. 1. 14; ii. 4. 48; A. A. ii. 254; M. xiii. 289; F. v. 298; P. iii. 1. 84.

l. 19. impulsiva, 'inpellere' is 'to push from its balance:' Verg. Aen. ii. 465, 'turrim . . . convellimus altis Sedibus inpulimusque.'

omnes timuere ruinam, 'all feared its falling mass.' Cp. iii. 5. 5, 'ut cecidi, cunctique metu fugere ruinam, Versaque amicitiae terga dedere meae;' P. iii. 2. 7, 'ignoscimus illis, Qui cum fortuna terga dedere fugae.'

l. 20. cauta dedere fugae = 'cauti dedere fugae,' supr. 6. 33. Cp. P. iii. 2. 15, 'me quoque amicorum nimio terrore metuque, Non odio quidam destituere mei. Non illis pietas, non officiosa voluntas Defuit: adversos extimere deos.'

l. 21. 'Nor do I wonder if they fear the cruel bolts by the breath of whose fire all the neighbourhood is wont to be blasted.' The thunderbolt is regarded as surrounded by an emanation of hot air, which breathes as it were upon whatever it comes in contact with; the image is graphic enough, and will come home to anyone who has stood near a large furnace, and it is unnecessary to introduce the idea of 'the wind of the thunderbolt's motion' as is done by Conington on Aen. ii. 649.

l. 22. adflari does not imply total destruction; see P. iii. 6. 17, 'Fulminis adflatos interdum vivere telis Vidimus, et refici, non prohibente Iove;' Liv. xxviii. 23. 4, 'correpti alii flamma sunt, alii ambusti adflatu vaporis;' xxx. 6. 7, 'magna pars saucii adflatique incendio effugerunt;' xxxix. 22. 3, 'ignesque caelestes multifariam orti adussisse complurium levi adflatu vestimenta maxime dicebantur;' Serv. on Aen. ii. 649, 'tria sunt fulminum genera: est quod adflat, quod incendit, quod findit.'

l. 23. remanentem. 'Re-' gives the force of backward action: thus manere = 'to stay;' remanere = 'to stay behind,' 'to remain.' Kennedy, L. Gr. p. 265; Roby, L. Gr. 2101.

l. 24. quamlibet invisio in hoste, 'in the case of an enemy however detested,' 'in the case of the most detested enemy.'

For in cp. infr. 35, and see on 5. 39.

This use of quamlibet qualifying an adjective is particularly characteristic of Ovid. Cp. infr. 10. 6; H. vi. 7, 'quamlibet adverso signatur epistula vento;' 140, 'quamlibet infirmis ipse dat arma dolor;' xi. 124, 'urnaue nos habeat quamlibet arta duos;' Am. i. 7. 66, 'quamlibet infirmas adiuvat ira manus;' A. A. iii. 312, 'Sirenes . . . quamlibet admissas detinere rates;' 597, 'quamlibet extinctos iniuria suscitavit ignes;' 642, 'cedat lecto quamlibet Aegra suo;' P. iii. 4. 10, 'quamlibet invitum difficilemque tenent (sc. magni poetae);' iv. 4. 45, 'quamlibet absentem, qua possum, mente videbo.' See Kennedy, L. Gr. p. 480. For the sentiment cp. supr. 5. 39.

l. 26. si quid, supr. 7. 1 n.

l. 27. For the legend see on 5. 21. Ovid here deals with the legends somewhat freely, as is his manner: for the ordinary versions say nothing of approval by Thoas of the conduct of Pylades, of Hector's praises of Patroclus, or Pluto's sorrow for Theseus; and indeed that this is all his own fanciful addition, the poet hints by the use of the word *credibile* in 34.

l. 29. *Actoridae*. Patroclus, the grandson of Actor, and son of Menoetius (hence called *Menoetiades*, v. 4. 25), was the chosen comrade of Achilles, whom he accompanied to Troy. When the Trojans were bursting into the Greek camp he put on the armour of Achilles, who himself, in consequence of a quarrel, had retired from the fight, and when Apollo had first stripped him of his armour, and Euphorbus wounded him, was killed by Hector (Il. xvi.); in vengeance for which Hector was himself slain by Achilles (Il. xxii.).

l. 30. Aristotle, *Rhet.* i. 6. 24, remarks on the importance of praises when coming from the mouth of an enemy, who is not likely easily to allow merit, ὡςπερ γὰρ πάντες ἤδη ὁμολογοῦσιν, εἰ καὶ οἱ κακῶς πεπονθότες, 'for this is as good as an universal admission, if even those who have suffered at our hands praise us.' Cope refers to Verg. *Aen.* xi. 282, where 'the prowess of Aeneas could not be more highly extolled than by the praises extorted from his enemy Diomedes.'

l. 31. *iret*. Notice the force of the imperf., 'They say that Pluto grieved because Theseus was coming down to Hades to accompany his friend.'

l. 33. See on v. 23, *supr.*

l. 35. *miseris*, dat. of possessor: 'kindly feeling is shown to the wretched too (as well as to these illustrious and equal friends); it is approved even in the case of an enemy.' Cp. Verg. *Aen.* i. 462, '*sunt lacrimae rerum, et mentem mortalia tangunt.*' For 'et' = 'quamvis' cp. M. xiii. 498, '*cecidisti et femina ferro:*' for *in* see on 5. 39.

l. 39. *quamvis* is used adverbially to qualify *maestissima*, without affecting the mood of the verb. Cp. n. on *quamlibet*, *supr.* 24.

l. 40. *processu*, 'advancement:' cp. iv. 5. 25, '*sic tua processus habeat fortuna perennes,*' and Mayor on *Iuv.* i. 39, '*in caelum quos evehit optima summi Nunc via processus.*'

l. 41. *iam tunc*, 'even at that time long ago,' equivalent in meaning to *iam tum*, which is the usual Augustan form. See L. and S. s. v. *iam*, B. 2 b.

ll. 41-46 are closely connected together in sense. Translate: 'I saw, dearest friend, that this success would befall thee even at that time long ago when the breeze was less impetuously speeding the bark of thy fortunes along that course; if there be any value in character or a spotless life, then there was none whom we should have priced above thyself; or if any man has exalted his head above his fellows by gentle culture—then we see that thy eloquence lends justice to each and every cause.'

The two couplets 43-44, 45-46, give two reasons why Ovid formerly prophesied his friend's subsequent success; (1) his high character

and stainless life, (2) his intellectual and oratorical ability. The sentence runs smoothly down to 45, *erat* and *extulit* being past tenses (*est* is present because the truth applies equally to all time): at 46 there is a slight anacoluthon or change of construction; we should have expected something like 'tu supra ceteros caput efferebas.' Instead of this, in his eagerness to do justice to his friend's later success at the bar, he presses on to the present time, and finishes by saying, 'we see that you are now a most capable pleader, the best possible practical proof of culture.'

ista is abl. of the road by which: for the metaphor of the ship see on 5. 17. [Or perhaps abl. of comparison, 'than the breeze which you now enjoy.'—A. S. W.]

pluris is gen. of price, used by the false analogy of the locative *tanti, quanti*, etc.

extulit ['has ever raised,' hence proverbially a gnomic perfect.—A. S. W.]

eloquio is instrum. abl. The word is a poetical form for *eloquentia*, used once by Verg. *Aen.* xi. 383, once by Hor. *A. P.* 217, and frequently by Ovid: see iv. 10. 17; *Am.* i. 8. 20; *A. A.* i. 462; *M.* xiii. 63 and 322; *F.* iv. 111; *P.* ii. 2. 51, and v. 40 and 56. It is found also in late prose.

l. 47. *dixi tibi protinus ipsi*, 'I told thee to thy face.'

l. 48. *scaena*. The comparison of the sphere of an orator to the stage is found in Cic. *de Or.* ii. § 338, '*maxima oratori quasi scaena videtur contio esse:*' see also *Lael.* § 97, where many passages are collected by Seyffert. The metaphor of the stage applied to human action occurs in *P.* i. 5. 69, '*hoc mea contenta est infelix musa teatro;*' iii. 1. 59, '*quicquid ages igitur, scaena spectabere magna.*' The reader will remember Shakespeare's, 'All the world's a stage, And all the men and women merely players; They have their exits and their entrances, And one man in his time plays many parts, His acts being seven ages.'

ll. 49 foll. It is tempting to suppose that Ovid recollected Cic. *Fam.* vi. 6. 7, '*non igitur ex alitis involatu nec a cantu sinistro oscinis, ut in nostra disciplina est, nec ex tripudiis solistimis aut soniviis tibi auguror, sed habeo alia signa, quae observem.*'

ll. 49-50. Three out of the five sorts of augury employed by the Romans are mentioned here—(1) *ex quadrupedibus*, here from the inspection of the entrails of sheep; (2) *ex caelo*, here from the sound of thunder on the left; (3) *ex avibus*, those which gave auguries either (a) by their note (*lingua*), called *oscines*, or (b) by their flight (*penna*), called *alites*. See *Dict. A.* 175 b.

fibrae, 'filaments,' are the extremities of the liver, from the inspection of which auguries were taken: *Tibull.* ii. 1. 25, '*viden ut feli-*

cibus extis Significet placidos nuntia fibra deos.' See Verg. Geor. i. 484, Conington.

tonitrus sinistri: the left was the favourable quarter in Roman augury, just as the right was in Greek; Cic. de Div. ii. § 11. The difference is to be accounted for by the fact that the augurs of the Greeks looked towards the north, those of the Romans towards the south; and the east was uniformly the quarter of good, and the west of evil omen. F. iv. 833, 'Ille precabatur, tonitru dedit omina laevo Iuppiter, et laevo fulmina missa polo. Augurio laeti iaciunt fundamina cives.'

With 50 cp. Verg. Aen. iii. 361, 'Et volucrum linguas et praepetis omina pennae.'

l. 51. The order is '*augurium (mihî) ratio est et coniectura futuri*,' 'my augury is based on reasoning and inference about the future,' *ratio et coniectura futuri* being a hendiadys, conveying a single notion, completely expressed by *ratio*, but more closely defined by *coniectura futuri*. For the hendiadys, a not very common figure in Ov., cp. M. iv. 757 (of Persens carrying off Andromeda), 'protinus Andromedan et tanti praemia facti indotata rapit.'

coniectura means specially a prophecy or conclusion drawn from dreams, and **coniector** an interpreter of dreams, joined by Cic. N. D. i. § 55 with 'haruspices augures, harioli, vates;' cp. De Or. i. § 95. For the dependent objective gen. cp. Cic. de Div. ii. § 129, 'etiamsi fieri possit coniectura vera somniorum, tamen isti, qui profitentur, eam facere non possint;' Verr. iii. § 121, 'vos coniecturam totius provinciae (contrast 'coniecturam de tota Sicilia facere,' § 106) nonne facietis?' pro Mur. § 9.

l. 56. **expediit** = 'it would have been best for me,' see on 8. 17.

l. 57. The serious profession of a barrister is contrasted with the light nature of the *Ars Amatoria*.

artes has a different sense in 57 and 58; in 57 it means the craft, profession of a barrister, in 58 it means the art of love.

l. 59. Ovid frequently asserts that his life is pure, though his verse is not (ii. 349 ff.; iii. 2. 5; iv. 10. 67); and the same defence is made by Catullus, Martial, and Pliny the younger. (Ellis, Comm. Catull. p. 47.)

l. 61. **vetus hoc carmen**. The *Ars Amatoria* was probably published in B. C. 2, when the poet, who was born in B. C. 43, was 41 years old, and the work had probably occupied some years in writing before that date; so that though this book was written A. D. 9, when he was 51 years old, he may fairly speak of the *Ars* as *vetus carmen*, and of himself, when he composed it, as *iuvenis*, which roughly comprehends men between the ages of 20 and 40. Cp. ii. 339, 'Ad leve rursus opus, iuvenalia carmina, veni, Et falso movi pectus amore meum.'

ludere is specially used of writing love-poetry; Am. iii. 1. 27, 'quod tenerae cantent, lusit tua musa, puellae.' In the active *ludere* would take a cognate acc. (*ludere carmen*), but when used as here in the passive, the cognate acc. becomes the subject; see Palmer on Hor. S. i. 6. 126.

l. 62. **ut . . . sic**, 'though . . . yet,' quite parallel to 57, 58. 'Though they are of such a sort as we cannot approve, yet still they are persiflage.' With this meaning *ut* usually precedes *sic*: see 63, 64. ii. 75, 423 ff.; M. i. 45, 370, 404, iii. 188.

l. 63. **color** = 'artful palliation of a fault' ('in malam partem, ut pro subtiliter exquisita defensione, praetextu, excusatione,' Forcell.); the metaphor is drawn from the colouring put on pictures. Cp. Iuv. vi. 279, 'dic aliquem, sodes, hic, Quintiliane, colorem;' Quintil. xi. 1. 81, 'quod si nulla contingit excusatio, sola colorem habet paenitentia.' ['Color' is a regular term in rhetoric and is frequent, e. g. in the elder Seneca; e. g. Contr. I. i. §§ 16, 17, 18, etc.—H. J. R.]

l. 66. The construction is 'Quo bene coepisti (ire), sic (eo) bene semper eas.' Cp. P. iii. 7. 20 'Parcaque ad extremum qua mea coepit eat.'

EL. X.

This elegy contains a description of the latter part of the poet's voyage to Tomi. He sailed, as we have seen (supr. iv. introd.), in the first instance probably from Brundisium, and, after encountering a violent storm on the Ionian sea, passed through the Corinthian gulf, and landed at Lechaeum, the western harbour of Corinth.

He then apparently purchased a fresh ship, which was small in size¹, but a fast sailer (3-6), and a good sea-vessel (7-8). Embarking on this ship at Cenchreae, the harbour of Corinth on the Saronic gulf, he pursued his voyage straight across the Aegean into the entrance of the Hellespont. Arrived here, for some reason which he does not clearly state, he turned the ship about², and sailed to the left (17), i.e. the

¹ P. i. 4. 35, 'nos fragili ligno vastum sulcavimus aequor.' Munro, Criticisms and Elucidations of Catullus, p. 12, conjectures that it would have been between 20 and 50 tons burden.

² We may perhaps suppose that he suffered a storm which drove him from the open sea to seek shelter in the Hellespont; and that when it was over—which happened soon, *simul*, 15—he turned back to revisit interesting spots, and to stay himself for some time at Samothrace; since he was not pressed for time, but was sailing in his own vessel. Munro's explanation, p. 12, that he encountered contrary winds in the Hellespont, which obliged him to beat about, seems based on pressing too greatly the meaning of *fessa curina*, 20: which may well refer merely to the length of the voyage

southern shore of the Hellespont, and after touching at Ophrynum, a town in the Troad between Dardania and Rhoeteum, where was a celebrated grove dedicated to Hector (hence *Hectoris urbs*, 17) in a conspicuous position, which may well have attracted Ovid's attention, and caused him to visit a place of such legendary interest¹, he proceeded to the island of Imbros, off the western coast of the Thracian Chersonnese; and thence to the island of Samothrace (*Thraciam Samon*, 20). Here he landed (*litora nacta*) on the north coast of the island, near the famous Zerynthian cavern of Hecate (19), which was one of the most celebrated seats of the worship of that mysterious goddess².

At Samothrace he parted from his ship (21), and stayed some time seeking rest and refreshment 'in a cultivated place after the dangers and discomforts of the sea' (Munro, p. 13); and there he wrote the present poem (22 and 45).

The ship, which doubtless contained most of his effects, servants, etc. was sent on before him to Tomi, while he himself crossed over to

from Greece; and by *levi vento* is meant a wind insufficient to propel a ship at a good pace, so that the vessel would be wearied by the tardiness of sailing before it.

¹ This explanation, first given by Verpoorten, and adopted by Merkel, is the most satisfactory of those offered. We can hardly, with Lörns, consider either *Ilium novum* or *Ilium vetus* to be meant, which were neither on the sea-board.

² *διαβόητον ἦν τὸ Ζήρυθρον ἄντρον*, Schol. Ar. Pax 277. Masson first saw that the Zerynthus mentioned here must be on the island of Samothrace, and not the town on the mainland (Vit. Ovid, p. 107, ed. Fischer), and it is surprising that this, which is undoubtedly the true explanation, has not been generally adopted. The famous Zerynthian cave of Hecate, *Ζήρυθρον ἄντρον τῆς κυνοσφάγου θεᾶς* (Lycophr. 77, Suidas ἀλλ' εἴ τις, s. v. *Σαμοθράκη*, Schol. Ar. u. s., see Ellis on Ibis 379) is shown by Preller (Griechische Mythologie, i.² 246) to have been on the north coast of the island Samothrace, and it must not be confounded with Zerynthus, on the Thracian coast near Aenos, where were the temples of the Zerynthian Apollo and Aphrodite.

It is to this latter Zerynthus that most commentators make the poet sail from Imbros, but this would have entailed a most unreasonably circuitous route: and if he had gone out of his way to land on the mainland before going to Samothrace, he would surely have expressed this more clearly. Nor is Merkel's hypothesis more satisfactory, that he did not actually land at Zerynthus, but merely saw it in the distance, as one might see England when sailing from London to France, through the Straits of Dover. For this involves the awkward supposition that he sailed from Imbros along near the Thracian coast; for which there would be no object if he was going to Samothrace, unless he had intended to touch at some place on the mainland. Besides, the word *nacta* must imply that he actually landed at Zerynthus.

Thrace in another vessel (48), landing near *Tempyra* (21), a town near the sea, and a military station on the Via Egnatia¹.

Starting from Tempyra, he performed the rest of the journey by land; just as conversely, P. iv. 5. 5, his letter is sent from Tomi by land through Thrace, and thence by sea to Rome; cp. T. iv. 1. 51.

Lines 24-42 contain a minute description of the ship's voyage from Samothrace to Tomi.

She passes again through the *Hellespont* (24), and has reached *Dardania* (25), *Lampsacus* (26), and the famous narrow strait between *Sestos* and *Abydos* (27, 28), and *Cyzicus*, one of the most celebrated and picturesque cities of the Propontis (29), and *Byzantium* (31), which stood on the Thracian side, at the entrance to the Bosphorus. Thence through the *Symplegades* (34) she is to sail into the Euxine, keeping along its west coast, past Cape *Thynias* and *Apollonia* (35), to *Anchialus*, a small town (*arta moenia*) a little north of Apollonia, of which it was a subject state (36); thence on northwards to *Mesembria* (now Missiori), and *Odesus* (now Varna), and *Dionysopolis* (38), a little town north-east of Odesus, called by the Greeks *Cruni* (Κρούνοι = Wells; now Baltshik), and *Bizone*, between Tomi and Dionysopolis (39), and so finally to *Tomi* (41).

In lines 45-48 he offers a prayer to Castor and Pollux, the Twin Brethren, who were the special guardians of travellers by sea, to protect both himself on his short remaining voyage from Samothrace to Thrace (48), and his vessel on its journey to Tomi (47).

A careful comparison between Catullus iv. and this elegy, 'which Ovid has written with Catullus in his mind, probably in his hands,' has been instituted by Munro, Criticisms, etc., pp. 9-25. The poem of Catullus contains a description of a voyage taken by the poet in his yacht, conversely from Asia through the Aegean and Adriatic seas to the Po and his home on the Lake Benacus.

1. 1. *tutela*, see on 4. 8. Notice that the *tutela*, or image of the god under whose guardianship the vessel sailed,—which was always placed in the stern,—is distinguished here (as was usually the case, though we do find in Lucian, *Navig. sen. vota*, 5. p. 653, Didot, a ship whose 'insigne' and 'tutela' are both Isis) from the 'insigne' (*παράσημον*), or figure-head, which, as with us, was carved or, as here, painted on the

¹ According to Strabo, vii. 48, Tempyra was a dependent town belonging to the Samothracians, which would explain why Ovid sailed thither from Samothrace, τὸ τῶν Σαμοθράκων πολίχμιον Τέμπυρα καὶ ἄλλο χάρακωμα, οὗ πρόκειται ἡ Σαμοθράκη νῆσος καὶ Ἰμβρος οὐ πολὺ ἄποθεν ταύτης.

bows, and might be a god or hero, or animal, or some other object, as here, a helmet. 'Cassis' was peculiarly appropriate to Minerva, who (i.e. Athena) is almost always represented as wearing one. In Verg. Aen. v. 116 the names and 'insignia' of some ships are enumerated, *pristis* (shark), *chimaera*, *centaurus*, *scylla*; ibid. x. 166, *tigris*; 206, *Mincius*, a river-god; 209, *Triton*, a sea-god. In Aen. x. 171 Apollo is the 'tutela' of a ship. See Seneca, Ep. 76, 'navis bona dicitur non quae pretiosis coloribus picta est . . . nec cuius tutela ebore caelata.' Hence we must not explain *tutela* here as either 'a thing protected,' i.e. under the protection of (Amerpach, followed by Paley on Prop. v. 8. 3 and L. and S.), or 'the person which protects' (Scheller); though probably the latter notion was also in the poet's mind, and the line certainly contains a prayer for the continued protection of Minerva.

flavae, 'flavus,' is found as an epithet of Minerva in Am. i. 1. 7; F. vi. 652; thus, though it is true that the epithet is more frequently applied to Ceres, there is no need of Haupt's most ingenious conjecture, *ραυαε* = *γλανκοπίδος*.

Translate: 'My guardian sign is yellow-haired Minerva, and long may it remain so, and my ship takes her name from a pictured casque.'

l. 2. *et*. The position of *et* as second word in the clause is very frequent with Ovid; instances in this book are 3. 96; 4. 10; 5. 11; 6. 31; 7. 30. Haupt (Opuscula, i. 125) collects, besides passages from the Pontic Epistles, 26 examples from the Tristia. After more than one word it is somewhat rarely found; after two words, v. 7. 40; P. iv. 9. 131; 16. 33 (though here the text is doubtful); after three words, v. 7. 24; after four words, P. i. 4. 20.

ll. 3-6. Cp. Catull. iv. 3, 'Neque ullius natantis impetum trabis Nequise praeter ire, sive palmulis Opus foret volare sive linteo.' Apoll. R. iii. 345, *ἴσον δ' ἐξ ἀνέμοιο θέει καὶ ὄτ' ἀνέρες αὐτοὶ Νωλεμέως χεῖρεςσιν ἐπισπέρχωσιν ἔρετροῖς*.

l. 3. *ad* = 'at,' on the occurrence of.

l. 6. *egressas quamlibet ante*, 'those that have started ever so long before her.' See supr. 9. 24 n.

l. 7. 'She smites the billows or the far spaces of the noiseless sea with equal deftness, and is not overmastered and waterlogged by the relentless waters.' The ship being provided with oars as well as sails, could pursue her course in a calm just as well as in windy weather; and was so tightly built that there was no fear of her being water-logged; thus Catullus iv. 17 speaks of his yacht as having both 'imbuisse palmulas in aequore,' and 'tot per impotentia freta Erum tulisse.' The collocation *pariter . . . atque (ac)* is found in Cic. Paradox. vi. 46; Sall. Jug. 113, and often in the comic poets: see Holtze, ii. 336.

There is a strong Vergilian flavour about the couplet as restored in the text: with *ferit* (the Homeric *πολίην ἄλα τύπτον ἔρετροῖς*, Od. ix. 104) cp. Aen. iii. 290, 'Certatim socii *feriunt mare* et aequora ver-runt;' with *silentia longe* cp. Aen. ix. 190, '*silent late loca*;' with *victa* cp. Aen. i. 122, 'iam validam Ilionei navem . . . *Vicit hiemps*;' with *madescit* cp. Aen. v. 697, '*semiusta madescunt Robora*.'

l. 9. *Cenchrōis*. See 3. 92 n.

l. 12. *numine*, 'protection;' supr. 2. 8.

l. 15. *mare Helles*, *Ἑλλης πόντος*. Helle was the daughter of Athamas, son of Aeolus (hence *Aeoliae*) and Nephele, and the sister of Phrixus. She fled with her brother from the persecution of Ino, her stepmother, on the back of a ram, but fell off (*vectae male virginis*, 27), and was drowned in the strait named after her. The story is told in F. iii. 849, ff.; and more recently by Sir George Cox, Tales from Greek Mythology, p. 25, ff. For the position of the preposition see on 9. 11.

l. 16. *tenui limite*, abl. of road by which; 'along a narrow track.' The *tenuis limes* is the narrow track or furrow made by the ship as it passes through the sea; cp. H. xviii. 133, 'Iam patet attritus solitarum limes aquarum, Non aliter multa quam via pressa rota' (i.e. the track through the sea pursued each day by Leander). So v. 6. 39, 'Quam multae *gracili* terrena sub horrea ferre *Limite* formicae grana reperta solent,' where *gracili limite* = the narrow track pursued by the ants. Cp. the expressions '*mare sulcare, arare*,' and note the contrast between *longum* and *tenui*.

l. 21. *saltus* (*salio*), as we say, 'you can almost jump across to Tempyra.' Merkel compares P. i. 5. 75, 'Per tantum terrae, tot aquas vix credere possum Indicium studii transiluisse mei.'

Join *Tempyra contra* 'from this isle for one making across for Tempyra the passage is but a short one.' '*Contra*' is an adverb. Cp. M. iv. 79 (of Pyramus and Thisbe conversing through the wall), 'Sub noctem dixere vale, partique dedere Oscula quisque suae non pervenientia contra.'

petenti is a dat. of indirect object, and closely connected with *saltus* (sometimes called a dat. of reference).

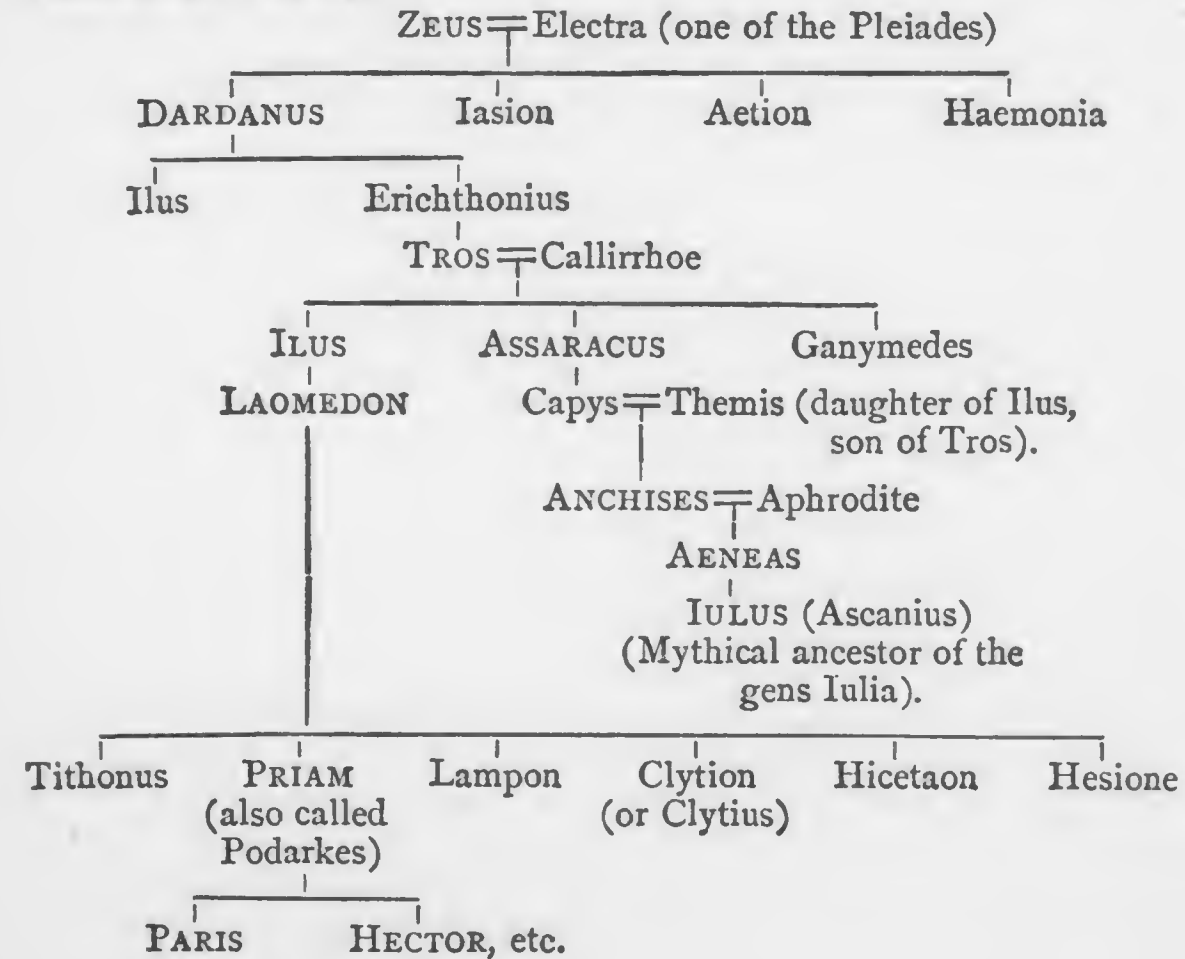
l. 22. *hac . . . tenus*, separated by tmesis, as in M. v. 642, 'thus far,' i. e. as far as Samothrace, infr. 45.

l. 23. *Bistonios* = Thracian, frequently so used in Ovid, see P. i. 3. 59; ii. 9. 54; iv. v. 35; Ibis 379. Properly the Bistones were a Thracian tribe south of Mount Rhodope, near Abdera. Ovid's journey on foot through Thrace is alluded to again in iv. 1. 49, 'Iure deas igitur veneror mala nostra levantes, Sollicitae comites ex Helicone fugae; Et partim pelago *partim vestigia terra* Vel rate dignatas *vel pede nostra sequi*.'

l. 24. *relegit*, the ship had just come from the Hellespont (15), and now returns thither.

l. 25. *petit*, perf. contracted for *petiit*, as in F. i. 109, 'Flamma *petit* altum, propior locus aera cepit, Sederunt medio terra fretumque solo.' M. v. 460, R. 306. See Lucian Müller, *De re Metr.* p. 399; Munro and Lachmann on *Lucr.* iii. 1042; Conington on *Aen.* ix. 9.

auctoris nomen habentem. Dardania, oftener the name of the whole region (hence the modern name Dardanelles), more commonly called Dardanus, or Dardanum (*Dict. Geogr.* i. 753 b), was a town in the Troad founded by (auctoris) Dardanus, the mythical ancestor of the Trojans. Dardanus went with his followers from his original home in Samothrace to Phrygia, where he was received hospitably by the king Teucer, who gave him his daughter, Bateia, in marriage and a part of his territory. Troy itself was founded by Tros, the grandson of Dardanus; its walls were built by Laomedon, the grandson of Tros, with the help of Apollo and Poseidon. As the genealogy of the founders of the Trojan race (from whom the Romans through Aeneas professed to trace their origin) is very perplexing; it is worth while to exhibit it in a genealogical table, based on the account of Apollodorus, iii. 12. 3. Cp. *Hom. Il.* xx. 215-240.



l. 26. Lampsacus was the special seat of the worship of Priapus, the god of gardens, and was renowned for its oysters (*Verg. Geor.* iv. 111; *Catull.* frag. ii. Ellis).

l. 27, 28. The strait between Sestos and Abydos was famous for the legend of Hero and Leander. See note on *Trist.* iii. 10. 41.

l. 29. Cyzicus is graphically described as clinging to the shore of the Propontis, for the city was situated on an island, and only connected with the mainland by two bridges: *Strabo*, xii. 8. 11, *ἔστι δὲ νῆσος ἐν τῇ Προποντίδι ἢ Κύζικος συναπτομένη γεφύραις δυοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἡπειρον.* *Apoll. Rhod.* i. 936 calls it an island, but speaks also of an isthmus: *ἔστι δὲ τις αἰπέα Προποντίδος ἐνδοθι νῆσος Τυτθὸν ἀπὸ Φρυγίης . . . εἰς ἄλλα κεκλιμένη, ὅσον τ' ἐπιμύρεται ἰσθμὸς Χέρσφ' ἐπιπρηγῆς καταειμένος.* Hence *Prop.* iii. (iv.) 22. 1, 'Frigida tam multos placuit tibi Cyzicus annos, Tulle, Propontiaca qua fluit Isthmos aqua' (where *Isthmos fluit* = there is a bridge over the water).

l. 30. *Haemonia* = Thessalian. Haemonia is a poetical name of Thessaly, frequent in Ovid, so called from Haemon, the mythical father of Thessalus, from whom it drew its name. Cyzicus was founded by Aeneas, a Thessalian, or, according to some accounts, by his son Cyzicus.

l. 31. 'And the shores of Byzantium that command the entrance of the Euxine.'

l. 32. *gemi maris*, the Propontis and the Euxine.

l. 33. *evincat*. Though the ship ought to have passed these places by this time, he has not yet had tidings that it has done so: its voyage just recorded was the imagination of the poet, and not an historical fact. Hence he utters a prayer that it may have had a safe passage, and may pass through the Symplegades, which, from the time of Homer and the Argonautic legend downwards, were proverbially dangerous to mariners. Hence the present is used. *Evincere* is a word specially applied to ships surmounting dangers: *M.* xiv. 76, 'avidamque Charybdim Evicere rates;' xv. 706, 'evicitque fretum.'

fortibus, because it requires a strong breeze for the ship to pass briskly (*strenua*) through the Cyaneae.

l. 34. *instabiles Cyaneas* (note the quadrisyllabic ending), the *κύνεαι* ('dark,' 'misty,' 'distant,' for they were the frontier of the known ancient world), *νήσοι* or *πέτραι*, were two small rocky islands, mythically supposed to clash together (*συμπλήσσειν*, hence called Symplegades), and crush any ship that tried to pass through the narrow passage between them (*Symplegades artas*, 47). After this had been safely accomplished by the Argonauts, they were fixed open for ever, as had been decreed by the gods should happen, as soon as any ship got safely through; though

Ovid, here speaking as a poet, prefers to regard them as still *instabiles* (*θαυὰ ξυνίασιν ἐναντία ἀλλήλοισιν*, Apoll. Rhod. ii. 321). For the legend see Grote, Gk. Hist. pt. i. ch. 13, and W. Morris, Life and Death of Jason, book 6.

1. 38. *arces . . . dictas nomine*, Bacche, tuo, a circumlocution for *Διονύσου πόλις*.

1. 39. Alcaeus was a son of Pelops, and son-in-law of Megareus, one of the early kings of Megara, whom he succeeded. He beautified Megara, and restored its walls, which had been destroyed by the Cretans.

The town referred to in this line is Bizone, which was on the coast of the Euxine between Dionysopolis and Tomi. It was a colony of Mesembria, as Mesembria itself was of Megara. In M. viii. 8 Mesembria itself is called 'urbs Alcaei.'

The order is: 'et (praetereat eos) quos, Alcaei a moenibus ortos, memorant profugos sedibus his constituisse larem.'

1. 41. *Miletida urbem*. Tomi, near the modern Kustendsche, not far from the mouth of the Danube, was one of the numerous colonies of Miletus on the Euxine: iii. 9. 3, 'Huc quoque Mileto missi venere coloni, Inque Getis Graias constituere domos.' The Milesians first opened the Euxine for ordinary navigation and commerce, and changed its name from the inhospitable (*ἄξεινος* or *ἄξενος*, ii. 83 n.) to the hospitable (*εὐξεινος πόντος*) sea: iv. 4. 55, 'Frigida me cohibent Euxini litora ponti: Dictus ab antiquis Axenus ille fuit.' According to Pliny there were no less than 80 Milesian colonies on the Euxine. See Thirlwall, Gk. Hist. ii. 106; Grote, pt. ii. ch. 26 *fin.*; Bunbury, Hist. Geogr. i. 97 ff.

1. 43. *contingere* is generally used of good fortune, and then is the opposite of 'accidere,' which implies misfortune (Mayor on Iuv. viii. 28): thus Hor. Epp. i. 17. 36, 'non cuivis homini contingit adire Corinthum' = 'everyone is not so lucky as to go to the expensive and luxurious city of Corinth.' The word is sometimes used of bad fortune. See Reid on Lael. § 8.

1. 44. *facere*, meaning 'to suit,' is often used with *ad* (cp. our colloquial idiom 'to do for'): H. vi. 128, 'Medeae faciunt ad scelus omne manus' ('Medea's hands are suited to every kind of crime'); xiv. 56, 'non faciunt molles ad fera tela manus'; xv. 8; xvi. 190; Am. i. 2. 16, 'frena minus sentit, quisquis ad arma facit.' It is found less frequently in the same sense with a dat.: H. ii. 39, 'per Venerem, nimiumque mihi facientia tela.' Occasionally it is used absolutely; A. A. iii. 57; T. iii. 8. 23, 'nec caelum nec aquae faciunt nec terra nec aurae (i. e. the climate here in Tomi does not suit me).

1. 45. Leda, the wife of Tyndareus, was the mother of Castor by

her husband, and of Pollux (and Helen of Troy) by Zeus. They were called hence the *Δίσκουροι* (sons of Zeus), and became a constellation (*Gemini*, the Twins), which was supposed, if seen in a storm, to bring safety—cp. the modern St. Elmo's fire,—hence they were regarded as the tutelary deities of sailors. Hor. Od. i. 3. 2 invokes them to protect Vergil on his voyage to Greece.

quos haec colit insula. The worship of the Dioscuri in Samothrace appears to have been confused with the worship of the primitive Cabiri, and hence to have assumed large proportions: Lobeck, Aglaophamus, p. 1229 ff.

1. 46. *duplici viae*, (1) the voyage of the ship to Tomi, and (2) of the second ship, which is to convey the poet to Thrace (*Bistonias aquas*).

1. 50. *ille . . . ille* are not unfrequently used for 'the former'—'the latter': H. iii. 28, 'ille gradu propior sanguinis, ille comes.' See Mayor on Iuv. x. 91.

EL. XI.

This poem forms the Epilogue, as the first was the Prologue, of the book. It was written during the voyage from Samothrace to Thrace, when Ovid was on his route to Tempyra (31), at the close of the winter of A. D. 8 (33 and 39). The land journey through Thrace was performed in the spring of A. D. 9.

SUMMARY.—All the epistles of this Book have been written during my voyage, either on the Hadriatic or Aegean seas; for the power of song has not left me amid the perils of the deep, but has proved my sole consolation (1–12). I have encountered many storms, and now too a fearful tempest is raging, and shipwreck on the barbarous shore of Thrace has as many terrors as death by drowning itself (13–34). Therefore pardon, reader, the blemishes of my lines, for I am writing no longer at ease in my home, but amid the fury of the storm, which I pray may soon abate (35–44).

1. 1. *littera* = a letter of the alphabet. The pl. *litterae* (a collection of such letters) = a letter, in the sense of an epistle.

tibi . . . mihi, dat. of agent.

libello. See on 7. 33.

toto libello, 'in the whole of my book,' abl. of place where.

1. 3. *cum tremarem*. See on 3. 26.

gelido mense decembri as *mensis december* forms one notion, and is equivalent to one substantive, the second epithet (*gelido*) is quite

regular: so ii. 491, 'fumoso mense decembri.' See Munro, *Lucr.* i. 258; Conington, *Aen.* vi. 603; Kennedy, *L. Gr.* p. 278.

1. 4. *Hadria* appears to be used rather loosely for the Ionian Sea: see iv. 3 n.

1. 5. *bimarem Isthmon*, the Isthmus of Corinth 'on its two gulfs,' the Corinthian and Saronic.

bimaris = *διθάλασσος*, is an epithet constantly applied by Ovid, as by Horace, to Corinth and the Isthmus.

cursu, 'at full speed,' adverbial use of the abl. of manner, which in such cases is used, contrary to ordinary rule, without an epithet, being regarded loosely as an instrument.

1. 6. *nostrae fugae* = 'mihi fugienti': see 5. 36 n.

1. 7. *facerem*. Subj. because of the reported reason; the Cyclades said to themselves, 'We are astonished that he is writing verse.'

1. 8. *Cyclades*, the group of islands so called because they lie in a circle (*κύκλος*) round Delos.

1. 9. *tantis fluctibus*, abl. of instr., *cecidisse* being equivalent to 'beaten down.'

1. 11. 'Call my devotion to poetry folly or madness as you will, my heart has been comforted in its troubles entirely by this occupation.'

For *insania* cp. ii. 15, 'At nunc—tanta meo comes est insania morbo—Saxa malum refero rursus ad icta pedem;' Cic. *de Or.* ii. § 194, 'saepe enim audiivi poetam bonum neminem . . . sine inflammatione animorum existere posse et sine quodam adflatu quasi furoris.'

1. 12. *ab*. This otiose use of *ab*, 'in consequence of,' where we should have expected a simple instr. abl., is poetical, and especially common in Ovid: see ii. 28, 'fiat *ab* ingenio mollior ira meo;' 462, 'docetque, Qua nuptae possint fallere *ab* arte viros;' iv. 5. 3, 'cuius *ab* adloquiis anima haec moribunda revixit;' 10. 16, 'curaque parentis Imus ad insignes urbis *ab* arte viros;' *Ibis* 145, 'consumptus *ab* annis' (see Ellis).

1. 13. The constellation of the Kids rises Sept. 25th–29th, and brings stormy weather (*nimbosis* = 'pluvialibus haedis,' Verg. *Aen.* ix. 668). *Dict. A.* 163 b.

1. 14. *Sterope* was one of the seven Pleiades (Lat. *Vergiliae*), the daughters of Atlas; after their death they became a constellation whose rising and setting, in the first half of May and beginning of November, were the signals in early times for the Greek mariner to begin and discontinue his voyages. *Dict. A.* 150 a.

1. 15. *custos Atlantidos ursae*. See on 3. 47 and 4. 1. Callisto according to one legend was the daughter of Nycteus, a great-grandson of Atlas, and is hence called a descendant of Atlas. (My reasons for

restoring *Atlantidos*, the reading of L, in place of *Erymanthidos*, the reading of most MSS, are given in the *Classical Review*, ii. p. 180.)

1. 16. The seven Hyades were fabled to have been sisters of the Pleiades. The name is said to be derived *ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕειν* (cp. F. v. 166, 'navita quas Hyadas Graius ab imbre vocat'), because the time of their morning setting is at the most rainy and stormy season of the year, the end of October and beginning of November (hence here *seris aquis*, because their setting is late in the year). *Dict. A.* 150 a, 163 a. The etymology which connects them with *ὑς*, 'a pig,' because of their resemblance to a litter of pigs, is borne out by their Latin name *Suculae*, and possibly the Pleiades also may mean not 'the sailing stars,' i. e. stars by which mariners sail (*πλεῖν*), but 'the pigeons' (*πελειάδες*). See Hallam on F. l. c.; Merry on *Od.* v. 272.

hauserat = 'exhauserat,' as in Verg. *Geor.* iii. 105, 'exsultantiaque haurit Corda pavor pulsans.'

seris aquis, abl. of part concerned.

Translate: 'Or the south wind had drained the Hyades of their latter rains.' [I should take it 'the south wind had swallowed (i. e. brought about the setting of) the Hyades in the waters of autumn.'—A. S. W.]

auster (Columella, xi. 2, notices that the total setting of the *Suculae* on Nov. 30 is accompanied by 'Favonius aut auster') and *hauserat* is an intentional play upon the words, for the Romans derived *auster* (which really is connected with *ἄω*, 'the hot, drying wind'), 'ab hauriendis aquis' (*Isid. Orig.* xiii. 11. 6, *Carmen de ventis* in *Bachrens, Poet. Min.* v. p. 384, quoted by Heinsius, 'austrum rite vocant, quia nubila flatibus haurit'); an etymology which is more intelligible if we remember that until the time of the empire the sound *h* was in many words very weak: *Quintil.* i. 5. 20, 'parcissime ea veteres usi etiam in vocalibus, cum "aedos" "ircos"-que dicebant.'

To *Stat. Theb.* iv. 120, where a river, and, ix. 460, where a storm are said *Pleiadas haurire* in the same sense as here, passages quoted by Heinsius, add ix. 454, where the river *Ismenos* 'umentes nebulas exhaurit, et aera siccat.'

1. 18. *ducebam*. The metaphor is from drawing out the threads in spinning (see note on *deducta*, i. 39): cp. iii. 14. 32, 'carmen mirabitur ullum Ducere me tristi sustinuisse manu;' v. 12. 63, 'cupio non ullos ducere versus;' P. i. 5. 7, 'mihi si quis erat ducendi carminis usus;' *Hor. S.* i. 10. 44.

qualiacumque, *supr.* 7. 12.

1. 19. Cp. *supr.* 4. 9. *aquilone*, instr. abl.

1. 20. *concava* refers to the overarching of the waves in a rough

sea: Hom. Od. xi. 244, πορφύρεον δ' ἄρα κῆμα περιστάθη οὐρεῖ Ἴσον, Κυρτωθέν.

l. 23. *adspexi*, see 2. 23 n. in Appendix.

mortis imago, 'the sight of death,' is from Verg. Aen. ii. 369, and is found again in Am. ii. 9. 41, 'stulte, quid est somnus, gelidae nisi mortis imago,' where the meaning is 'the semblance of death.' In M. x. 726, 'repetitaque mortis imago Annua plangoris peraget simulamina nostri,' it means 'a representation of the death of Adonis.'

l. 24. 'With what misgiving of heart I dread, yet pray for all my dread.'

l. 25. *attigero*, conditional use of indic. in protasis of conditional sentence, to which *terrebor* is the apodosis, R. 651.

l. 26 is explained by iv. 4. 59, 'Sunt circa gentes, quae praedam sanguine quaerunt; Nec minus infida terra timetur aqua.'

l. 27. *insidiis*, instr. abl. *laboro*, 'I am troubled,' has, as usual, the construction of a passive verb.

l. 29. *meo sanguine*, instrum. abl., 'booty by means of, through my blood.'

l. 30. *titulum nostrae mortis* = 'titulum ex mea morte;' see on 1. 53. *nostrae mortis* is gen. of definition.

l. 31. *laeva* is nom., 'the district on the left,' viz. the coast of Thrace, which lay on the left as he sailed from Samothrace to Tempyra. Cp. P. i. 3. 57, 'hostis adest dextra laevaue a parte timendus.'

l. 34. *pectora*, 'my heart;' usually of the emotional rather than intellectual nature (Wilkins on Hor. Epp. i. 4. 6).

l. 37. *hortis*. Ovid had a pleasure-garden, at the junction of the Clodian and Flaminian roads, about three miles from Rome; P. i. 8. 41, 'Non meus amissos animus desiderat agros, Ruraque Paeligno conspicienda solo, Nec quos piniferis positos in collibus hortos Spectat Flaminiae Clodia iuncta viae, Quos ego nescio cui colui; quibus ipse solebam Ad sata fontanas, nec pudet, addere aquas: Sunt ubi, si vivunt, nostra quoque consita quaedam, Sed non et nostra poma legenda manu.' From T. iv. 8. 27 we learn that it was his custom alternately to enjoy the life and society of the city, and to retire ('vacuos secedere in hortos') to his pleasure-garden for study and composition; to which purpose, as well as to the giving of entertainments, gardens were constantly put by the Romans (so Gibbon finished writing his history in a summer-house in his garden: Memoirs, ed. Smith, i. 117). Among wealthy literary Romans, besides Ovid, who owned *horti*, were Sallust, Lucan, and Seneca. On the whole subject see Mayor, Iuv. i. 75.

l. 38. *lectule*, a sofa used for reading and writing, the tablet being placed against the knee, which was raised for the purpose (Rich. 375, a.).

l. 39. *brumali luce*, abl. of time when.

l. 41. *improba*, 'relentless,' persisting in its persecution of me. 'Improbis' frequently denotes the absence of moderation and self-control, 'and as such is applied to the wanton malice of a persecuting power' (Conington on Geor. i. 119).

ausim. Roby, 291; L. Gr. 619, 620, explains this as an archaic form of the future subjunctive, formed from the present stem, like the Greek fut. in -σω. (Others regard it as a subj. formed from the perfect stem: see Wordsworth, Fragments and Specimens of Early Latin, Introd. p. 149). *Ausim* is found also in Am. ii. 4. 1; 16. 21; Rem. 700; M. vi. 561, viii. 77; P. iv. 11. 11; 12. 15; 16. 41: *ausit* in A. A. ii. 601; M. vi. 466.

l. 42. *rigidas incutiente minas*, 'while it is hurling at me its fierce threats:' Am. i. 7. 45, 'Nonne satis fuerat timidae inclamasse puellae, Nec nimium rigidas intonuisse minas?'

l. 43. 'Let the storm have its will of the man. I yield; but prythee let me put a limit to my poems, and the storm a limit to its violence at the same time.'

quaeso is parenthetical.

APPENDIX.

I. 5 ff. This is one of the *loci classici* for ancient books. These were usually written on paper (*carta*) made from layers of the Egyptian *papyrus*, less commonly on parchment (*membrana*). The writing was on only one side; the blank back of the page was stained with *cedrus* (*cedro carta notetur*), the resinous exudation of the juniper tree, which produced a yellow colour (iii. 1. 13, 'quod neque sum cedro flavus nec pumice levis'). The scroll when finished was rolled round a staff, and thus called *volumen*. It was usual to write only one book of a work on one such scroll, thus, infr. 117, Ovid speaks of the fifteen books of the *Metamorphoses* as *mutatae, ter quinque volumina, formae*. The ends of the staff (which did not protrude beyond the ends of the scroll) were painted, and from their resemblance to the human navel were called *umbilici*; but where greater finish was desired, bosses or knobs were attached to the ends of the *umbilici*, which were called *cornua*. The *frontes*, or edges of the two extremities of the roll around the *cornua*, were cut and smoothed with pumice stone (*pumex*). The lettering-piece containing the title of the book (*titulus* or *index*), was written on a narrow strip of parchment of a deep red colour (*minium*), and fastened to the centre of the scroll, so as to hang down outside (Rich. s.v. *index*); though sometimes it was affixed to one of the *umbilici*, so as to hang from one of the *frontes* (infr. 109, Guhl and Koner, p. 531). Occasionally it was tied to the *membrana*, the exterior parchment case into which the roll was put to protect it from injury, and which was stained with a purple (*vaccinium*, l. 5), or sometimes yellow colour (*lutum*). Thus Martial, iii. 2. 10, says to his book 'et te purpura delicata velet;' cp. Lucian, De Merced. cond. 41, ὅμοιοί εἰσι τοῖς καλλίστοις τούτοις βιβλίοις, ἂν χρυσοὶ μὲν οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ (*umbilici*), πορφύρα δ' ἐκποσθεν ἢ διφθέρα (*membrana*). The exact difference between the *capsa* and *scrinium* has not been ascertained; they were both circular (*scrinia curva*, 106 infr.) boxes for holding books, papers, etc.

I. 87. *ergō*. L. Müller, *De re Metrica*, p. 337, shows that in the Augustan age there was an increasing tendency to shorten long final *o*. Thus Verg. has *Pollio, nuntio, audeo*; Hor. in the Odes, *Pollio*, in the Satires and Epistles, *eo, rogo, veto, dixero, obsecro; quomodo, mentio, Pollio, scio*; Tibullus, *desino*; Propertius, *caedito, findo*; Ovid always *Sulmo, Naso*, and frequently *amo, cano, nego, peto, rogo, leo, confero, desino, otero, Curio, Gallio, Scipio, esto, credo, tollo, rependo, nemo, ergo*. To this list add the parenthetic *puto* (e.g. P. i. 3. 47), and *Semo* (F. vi. 214). It is natural that in Ovid, the last of the Augustan poets, who forms a connecting link with the next generation, we should find an increase of such metrical latitude. See Munro in Kennedy, L. Gr. p. 518 n.

II. 23. Notice the difference in meaning between, (1) *quocumque adspicio* here, (2) *adspicias*, conjectured by Heinsius here, and probably right in P. i. 3. 55, and (3) *adspiceres*, *infr.* 3. 21: (1) is used when, as here, the writer is describing himself, and vividly putting his condition before our eyes; (2) if he turns from himself to someone else (indefinite, and therefore subj.), and vividly pictures that person as present; (3) if he imagines some person not present, but who, if he had been, would have seen, etc. Again, (4) in II. 23, the perf. *adspexi* emphasises the certainty of the presence of death on all sides, wherever he has already looked.

II. 53 ff. The contrast is between a violent death by drowning, which would be death '*praeter naturam praeterque fatum*' (Cic. Phil. i. § 10), and a soldier's death in battle, which would still be *fato*, as is seen from what Juppiter says about the slaying of Pallas by Turnus, *Aen.* x. 467-472; see especially 471, '*etiam sua Turnum Fata vocant*' (though Turnus himself was killed), *ibid.* 438, '*mox illos sua fata manent maiore sub hoste*.' The conjecture of Heinsius *fatove ferrove*, adopted by almost all editors, distinguishes two possible kinds of death on land, a natural and a violent. But this is unnecessary, and it is better to consider the passage as relating to a soldier's death on land only, for a man who falls in battle falls '*et fato suo et ferro*' (Lörs). Also there is more point in his preferring any death on land, however terrible, which still carries with it some faint hope of burial, to drowning (cp. F. iii. 598, quoted on 55), than in his contrasting with the latter, death by land either ordinary or violent. Special importance has in all ages been attached to burial; and death by drowning was regarded with peculiar horror, on account of the idea prevalent among both Greeks and Romans that such a

death was the punishment for guilt. Thus Dido says to Aeneas, H. vii. 57:

'Nec violasse fidem temptantibus aequora prodest:
perfidiae poenas exigit ille locus.'

(See Palmer's n.)

II. 72. Three things constituted Roman citizenship, freedom (*libertas*), civic rights (*civitas*), and membership in a family (*familia*), *Dig.* iv. 5. 11. The possession of these formed the citizen's status or legal personality, which was called '*caput*.' The status could be impaired (called *deminutio capitis*) in three ways: either (1) it could be entirely lost ('*cum aliquis civitatem et libertatem amittit*'), which was the case with persons condemned to work in the mines, or to contend with wild beasts in the arena; this was called '*maxima deminutio*:' or (2) a change of status could be undergone, involving loss of '*civitas*' though not of '*libertas*,' in which case a man became '*peregrinus*,' as happened to persons outlawed ('*aqua et igni interdicti*') or banished as state prisoners to an island ('*deportati in insulam*'); this was called '*minor*' or '*media deminutio*,' and constituted civic death, and so the '*caput*' might be said '*perire*:' or (3) the '*familia*' only might be affected, '*civitas*' and '*libertas*' being retained, as occurred in adoptions (*Gaius*, i. 162); this was called '*minima deminutio*,' and, unlike the other two, was not a state of punishment. In the present passage Ovid is speaking of himself in general terms as *exsul*; he has been banished to a particular place of residence—Tomi. As a fact his banishment was the mildest possible ('*relegatio*'), which was an exile within prescribed limits, not in any way affecting the status, involving no '*deminutio capitis*,' but leaving the '*patria potestas*' and all other rights unimpaired (*Dig.* xlviii. 22. 7; Ovid, T. v. 2. 55, '*vitamque dedisti, Nec mihi ius civis, nec mihi nomen abest*;' *ib.* 4. 21, '*Quod opes teneat patrias, quod nomina civis, Denique quod vivat, munus habere dei*;' *ib.* II. 9 ff.; *ib.* 137; *ib.* 4. 46; *ib.* 24). But in his bitterness he intentionally, here and in 4. 28, confounds it with the severer form of exile '*deportatio in insulam*,' which entailed a '*minor capitis deminutio*;' though when speaking more exactly (v. II. 21, '*ipse relegati, non exsulis utitur in me Nomine*') he denies the name of exile, i. e. exile involving '*deminutio capitis*.' (See Ortolan, *Inst. Just.* ii. 149, ff.; Demangeat, *Droit Romain*, i. 310, and for the places of banishment under the empire Mayor on *Iuv.* i. 73.)

II. 102. If we compare ii. 243, 244, 'Non tamen idcirco legum contraria iussis Sunt ea (his 'Ars') Romanas erudiuntque nurus,' where he defends his *Ars Amatoria* to Augustus as not being really hostile to the Emperor's legislation for the promotion of marriage (for the legislation on the subject see Furneaux, *Annals of Tacitus*, i-vi. p. 439 ff.; Merivale, iv. 87 ff.), it appears probable that here he is suggesting the same excuse on behalf of himself—the excuse that he had always been not only a private partizan of Augustus (101), but a supporter of his public policy (*publica* opposed to *domus*) in that respect. (Graeber, i. vii. supposes ii. 175, 'dimidioque tui praesens et respicis urbem,' to allude to the passing of the *Lex Papia Poppaea de maritandis ordinibus*.) This artful suggestion becomes additionally pointed if we consider him to be covertly contrasting his own behaviour with that of others, who, like Horace and Propertius, both of whom were unmarried, were not favourably affected towards these laws (see Merivale, u. s. 88, note 2, and cp. especially Prop. ii. 7. 1 ff.; Hor. Od. iv. 5. 21; Carm. Saec. 17 ff.). And much the same may be said of Tibullus, whose poetry (see i. 6) and life were equally at variance with such legislation. The attitude of the whole equestrian order was one of extreme discontent: Dio, lvi. 1, *iniit. ἐπειδὴ τε οἱ ἰππεῖς πολλῇ ἐν αὐταῖς σπουδῇ τὸν νόμον, τὸν περὶ τῶν μὴ γαμούντων μήτε τεκνούντων, καταλυθῆναι ἤξιουν, ἤθροισεν* (sc. Augustus) *ἐς τὴν ἀγορὰν χωρὶς μὲν τοὺς ἀγυναίους σφῶν, χωρὶς δὲ τοὺς γεγαμηκότας ἢ καὶ τέκνα ἔχοντας, καὶ ἰδὼν πολὺν τοῦτους ἐκείνων ἐλάττους, ἤλγησέ τε καὶ διελέξατο αὐτοῖς τοιάδε* (then follows the speech).

V. 28. *indelibatas*, prop. = 'untasted,' is a word introduced into use apparently by Ovid. A list of such adjectives compounded of *in*, with which Ovid enriched the language, illustrates admirably the inventive facility of the poet's genius (iv. 10. 25, 'sponte sua carmen numeros veniebat ad aptos'): of the following such adjectives, first used by Ovid, the majority are found also in subsequent writers: *illabefactus* (P. iv. 8. 10; 12. 30); *illectus* (A. A. i. 469); *illimis* (M. iii. 407); *imman-suetus* (M. iv. 237; xiv. 249; xv. 85); *imperceptus* (M. ix. 711); *impercussus* (Am. iii. 1. 52); *imperfossus* (M. xii. 491); *imperjuratus* (Ib. 78); *imperturbatus* (Ib. 560); *inambitiosus* (M. xi. 765); *inassuetus* (F. iv. 450); *inattenuatus* (M. viii. 835); *incommendatus* (M. xi. 434); *inconsumptus* (M. iv. 17; vii. 592; P. i. 2. 41); *inconsolabilis* (M. v. 426); *incruentatus* (M. xii. 492); *inculpatus* (M. ix. 673); *incustoditus* (M. ii. 684; iii. 15; T. i. 6. 10); *indeclinatus* (T. iv. 5. 24; P. iv. 10.

83); *indefletus* (M. vii. 611); *indeiectus* (M. i. 289); *indelebilis* (M. xv. 876; P. ii. 8. 25); *indeploratus* (T. iii. 3. 46); *indesertus* (Am. ii. 9. 52); *inestriatus* (M. xii. 92); *indetonsus* (M. iv. 13); *indevitatus* (M. ii. 605); *ineditus* (P. iv. 16. 39); *inevitabilis* (M. iii. 301); *inexperrectus* (M. xii. 317); *inextinctus* (F. i. 413; vi. 297; T. v. 14. 36; Ib. 426); *infrons* (P. iv. 10. 31); *innabilis* (M. i. 16); *innubus* (M. x. 92, 567; xiv. 142); *inobrutus* (M. vii. 356); *inobservatus* (M. ii. 544; iv. 341; F. iii. 111); *inoffensus* (T. i. 9. 1); *insolidus* (M. xv. 203); *intrepidus* (M. ix. 107; xiii. 477); *intumulatus* (H. ii. 136); *irreligatus* (A. A. i. 530); *irreprehensus* (M. iii. 340; T. v. 14. 22); *irrequietus* (M. i. 578; xiii. 729); *irresolutus* (P. i. 2. 22).

V. 49. The use of the ablative case in comparisons is to be referred to the same general head as the ablative of place from which, and the real meaning is 'starting from' (Holtze, *Synt. Prisc. Lat.* i. 116; Roby, *L. Gr.* 1266). Kennedy (*L. Gr.* p. 404) refers it to the idea of origin, which is the same notion. If one thing is compared with another, the speaker starts from the one in order to make the comparison: thus *credibili maiora* = 'si a credibili proficiscor, si a credibili proficiscens rem specto, tulimus maiora.'

This ablative is explained with less probability by Kühner, *L. Gr.* ed. 1878, ii. 299, and Draeger, *Historische Syntax*, i. 565, as an instrumental ablative. Thus, says Kühner, 'Lingua Graeca locupletior est Latina,' would mean that the quality of richness in Greek is only called out by means of comparing it with Latin; it is a latent quality, and Latin is the instrument of its being actualised. But this conception is far-fetched.

VIII. 45. The objections to the reading in the text are (1) that the ellipsis with *quam nunc* is rather awkward, (2) that *nunc* has little manuscript support. The latter objection has little weight; for *non* and *nunc*, from the similarity of their contractions, are words particularly liable to confusion in MSS. With regard to (1) it is scarcely credible that Ovid can have written what is found in most of the MSS, 'aut mala nostra minus quam non aliena putares,' which Merkel explains as = 'aut mala nostra non aliena putares,' the artificial periphrasis, 'minus quam non aliena' being, in Merkel's opinion, due partly to the poet's love of such artificialities, and partly to a desire to indicate what he would have wished as modestly as possible; he would have liked in his friend an attitude of regard a little more distinctly

marked than ('less than') 'non aliena.' But the passages quoted by Merkel in support of 'minus quam non' (M. viii. 600; ep. Sen. 20 and 49; Suet. Tib. 26; M. Sen. Controv. i. 3), are none of them so harsh as this; and the intended meaning is 'too forced and obscure to be probable in Ovid.

IX. 7. This passage has been perplexed with needless difficulties; of which we may pass by without comment the objection of Harles that birds, as a fact, haunt the 'ivy-mantled tower.' The Romans seem to have believed that doves had a special fondness for white, as well as cleanliness: Columella, R. R. viii. 8, 'totus autem locus et ipsae columbarum cellae poliri debent albo tectorio, quoniam eo colore praecipue delectatur hoc genus avium . . . locus autem subinde converri et emundari debet. nam quanto est cultior, tanto laetior avis conspicitur, eaque tam fastidiosa est, ut saepe sedes suas perosa, si detur avolandi potestas, relinquat:' and Palladius, R. R. i. 24, says that the 'columbarium' must be 'levigatis ac dealbatis parietibus.'

By *turris* is meant neither a 'dove-cot,' as it is usually explained, for which there is little authority, nor merely a lofty building or house (Lörs), a meaning which the word certainly has occasionally, as in Hor. Od. ii. 10. 11; Tibull. i. 7. 9; but the turrets or pinnacles of the villas of wealthy men, which were appropriated to the occupation of doves, as is seen from Varro, R. R. iii. 7, 'unum [genus] agreste, ut alii dicunt saxatile, quod habetur in turribus ac columinibus villae, a quo appellatae columbae, quae propter timorem naturalem summa loca in tectis captant: quo fit, ut agrestes maxime sequantur turres, in quas ex agro evolant suapte sponte ac remeant.' Columella, l. c. 'vel summis turribus, vel editissimis aedificiis assignatae aedes frequentant patentibus fenestris, per quas ad requirendos cibos evolitant.'

turris is similarly used in connexion with doves in A. A. ii. 150, 'quasque colat turres, Chaonis ales (= columba) habet;' M. iv. 48, where Dercetis, changed into a dove, 'extremos albis (so the Marcianus) in turribus egerit annos;' P. i. 6. 51, 'prius incipient turris vitare columbae.' There is no reason why Mart. xii. 31. 6 (speaking of the appliances of his estate), 'quaeque gerit similes candida turris aves,' should not be explained in the same way: and the words of Palladius (a late writer), i. 24, 'columbarium vero potest accipere sublimis una turricula in praetorio [country seat] constituta,' only prove that dove-cots were sometimes erected in the form of 'turres.'

INDEX.

- ab ('close to'), iii. 29.
— otiose, xi. 12.
ablative:—
 in comparisons, p. 101.
 of manner, iv. 9; xi. 5.
Actorides, ix. 29.
adflo, ix. 22.
adjectives, compounds of *in*, coined
 by Ovid, p. 100.
adsterno, iii. 43.
agere reum, i. 24.
Albinovanus Pedo, p. xlvi.
Alcathous, x. 39.
Alexandria, ii. 80.
aliquis, ii. 53, 55.
Althaea, vii. 18.
ambitiosus, ix. 18.
anacoluthon, ix. 41.
anastrophe of preposition, ix. 11.
Antimachus, vi. 1.
arctos, ii. 29.
Ars Amatoria, ix. 61.
Asia Minor, cities of, ii. 78.
Atticus, p. xliii.
attraction of verb into plural, ii. 1.
augury, ix. 49.
Augustus, deification of, p. xx;
 iii. 37; v. 75.
ausim, xi. 41.
Ausonia, ii. 92.
auster, xi. 16.
aut = alioquin, viii. 45.
axis, ii. 46; iii. 48; viii. 3.

Bacchus, patron of poets, vii. 2.

ballista, ii. 48.
Bear, constellation of, ii. 29; iii. 48.
bene, intensive, vii. 15.
Bistonius, x. 23.
Bizone, x. 39.
books, ancient, p. 97.
brachylogy, i. 17.
Brutus, p. xlv; p. 65.

cado (in), v. 23.
Caesares, ii. 104.
Callisto, iii. 48.
Caphereus, i. 83.
caput, legal, iv. 28; p. 99.
Carus, p. xlv; p. 75.
catapulta, ii. 48.
Catullus, iv. 9; pp. 70, 85 ff.
cavē, i. 25.
Celsus, p. xliii.
color, in rhetoric, ix. 63.
comites ('clients'), v. 30.
condens use, v. 57.
conceit, ii. 50.
conditional sentence:
 indic. (without *si*) in protasis,
 indic. in apodosis, xi. 25.
 indic. in protasis, imperat. in
 apodosis, ii. 99.
 imperat. in protasis, indic. (fut.)
 in apodosis, i. 47; ii. 52, 57.
 subjunctive in protasis and apo-
 dosis, i. 79.
 subjunctive in protasis, fut. part.
 with auxiliary verb in apo-
 dosis, i. 125; vi. 14.

coniectura, ix. 51.
 contingit, x. 43.
 contra, adverb, x. 21.
 corpora ('grains'), v. 48.
 Cyaneae, x. 34.
 Cyclades, xi. 8.
 Cyzicus, x. 29.

Dardanelles, x. 24.
 Dardania, x. 25.
 dative of agent, v. 29; vii. 32.
 death by drowning, p. 98.
 debtor, use of, v. 10.
 decumanus fluctus, ii. 50.
 deduco, i. 39.
 deification of the emperor, *see*
 Augustus.
 deliciae, ii. 80.
 deminutio capitis, p. 99.
 di bene, ii. 41.
 — faciant, i. 58.
 — facerent, i. 58.
 dico (=cano), ii. 103.
 Dioscuri, worship of, at Samo-
 thrace, x. 45.
 doctus, v. 57.
 donec, ix. 5.
 doves, p. 102.
 duco, of verse, xi. 18.
 — ('I suck'), viii. 43.
 dum, with perf. indic., viii. 23.
 — with perf. indic. and imperf. in-
 dic. in corresponding clause,
 ix. 17.

ellipsis, ii. 41; viii. 29, 33.
 eloquium, ix. 46.
 epithets, two with one subst., xi. 3.
 Erymanthis, iv. 1.
 et, position, x. 2.
 — (=quamvis), ix. 35.
 Euryalus, v. 23.
 Euxinus, etymology, x. 41.
 evinco, x. 33.
 excutio, i. 78.
 exilis, ii. 86.

Fabius Maximus, p. xxxvi; p. 61.
 facio, construction, i. 58.
 — ('I suit'), x. 44.
 famē, vi. 9.
 fas, ii. 96.
 fatum, p. 98.
 fero, of fate, iii. 101.
 — ('I say'), i. 36.
 fibrae, ix. 49.
 Flaccus, p. xxxix.
 focus (=ara), iii. 43.
 forsitan with subj., i. 69.
 funus, iii. 22, 89; vii. 38.

Gallio, p. xlvi.
 genitive of gerund and gerundive,
 iii. 9.
 Graecinus, p. xxxix.

h, sound weak, i. 16.
 Haemonia, x. 30.
 hederæ, vii. 2.
 Helle, x. 15.
 hic, ix. 12.
 hic . . . ille, ii. 24.
 hirtus, iii. 90.
 Homer imitated, v. 53, 67.
 horti, xi. 37.
 Hyades, xi. 16.
 hypallage, iii. 6.

iaceo, viii. 13.
 iam tunc, ix. 41.
 Ibis, pp. xvi. xxv; vi. 13.
 Icarus, i. 90.
 ille . . . hic, ii. 24.
 ille . . . ille, x. 50.
 illi, adverb, i. 17.
 imago, vii. 1.
 improbus, xi. 41.
 in ('in respect of'), ii. 17.
 ('in the case of'), v. 39; ix. 24.
 ('in the number of'), iii. 68.
 increpo, transitive, iv. 24.
 incustoditus, vi. 11.
 indicative, with *quod*, i. 2.
 — for subj., denoting possibility,
 etc., viii. 17.

indicative, pluperfect, i. 80.
 infinitive, after *do*, i. 34.
 — perfect for present, v. 4.
 — poetic use, i. 132.
 inoffensus, ix. 1.
 insigne of ship, x. 1.
 invideo, i. 1.
 invidiosus, ii. 67.
 Ionian sea, iv. 3.
 ipse, vii. 16, 37.

laevus, ii. 83; iv. 19; xi. 31.
 Lampsacus, x. 27.
 Laodamia, vi. 20.
 Lares, iii. 43.
 lectulus, xi. 38.
 libellus, vii. 33.
 Lucretius, reminiscence of, viii. 11,
 42; ix. 13.
 ludo, of love poetry, ix. 61.

Macaulay, his criticism, p. lv.
 Macer, Aemilius, p. xv.
 Macer, Pompeius, p. xl.
 Madvig, v. 1, 4, 23.
 Maeonides, i. 47.
 magis (=potius), ii. 89.
 marriage, legislation to promote,
 p. 100.
 media plebs, i. 88.
 Meleager, vii. 18.
 Messalla, house of,
 — pedigree, p. xxxiii.
 — M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus,
 p. xxx.
 — M. Valerius Corvinus, Messal-
 linus, p. xxxi.
 — M. Aurelius Cotta Messallinus,
 p. xxxiii.
 meta, ix. 1.
 Metamorphoses, i. 117; p. 68;
 vii. 13, 19.
 metaphor, i. 39; iii. 13, 18, 88;
 iv. 13, 16; v. 3, 17; vii. 19,
 29, 30; ix. 1, 41, 48; xi. 18.

Mettus Fufetius, iii. 73.
 Milesian colonies on the Euxine,
 x. 41.
 Minerva bellatrix, v. 76.
 — flava, x. 1.

Nasō, vii. 10.
 navis, v. 17.
 Neritius, v. 57.
 Nisus, v. 23.
 numen, ii. 8.
 numeri, viii. 47.
 numquam, viii. 23.

Oedipus, i. 113.
 omens, iii. 55; ix. 49.
 omission of substantive verb, i. 17.
 Ophrynum, p. 84.
 order of words, ii. 109; iii. 16.
 Orestes, v. 21.
 Ovid, life, p. xi ff.; his daughter,
 p. xvii; his third wife, pp. xvi,
 68; vi. 15; her daughter, p.
 xvii; cause of his banishment,
 p. xlix ff.; his voyage to Tomi,
 pp. xix, 83; his defence of his
 life, ix. 59; his works, p. xxiii
 ff.; his treatment of legends,
 ix. 27. STYLE — p. liv. ff.
 coining of words, p. 100;
 conceits, ii. 50; repetitions
 (mannerism), viii. 4; use of
 strings of illustrations, viii. 1;
 variety of expression, p. 98
 (ii. 23).
 oxymoron, iii. 89; iv. 4.

Palatine hill, i. 69.
 Parrhasis, iii. 48.
 passi capilli, i. 12.
 passive in middle sense, iii. 47.
 Patroclus, ix. 29.
 Penates, iii. 43.
 Penelope, vi. 22.
 penetræle, i. 105.
 perago reum, i. 24.

pereo, iv. 28.
 Perilla, pp. xvii, xxix.
 person, change of, vii. 40.
 petĭt (perfect), x. 25.
 Philetas, vi. 2.
 Phoceus, v. 21.
 pius, ii. 96.
 play upon words, i. 16; ii. 86 (?)
 Pleiades, xi. 14, 16.
 plural (poetic), ii. 39.
 poetical inconsistency, i. 88, 115.
 Pompeius, Sextus, pp. xxxviii, xl.
 preposition, anastrophe of, vi. 29;
 ix. 11.
 princeps, i. 33; vi. 23.
 prior (=secundus), vi. 19.
 prosody:—
 long final vowels shortened,
 e, i. 25.
 o, p. 98; ii. 69, 77; vii. 10.
 quadrisyllabic ending of penta-
 meter, x. 34.
 synzesis, iii. 92.
 valē impossible in Ovid viii. 21.
 Protesilaus, vi. 20.
 proverbial expressions, iii. 35;
 viii. 1.
 provincial governors, accom-
 panied by their wives, iii. 19.
 Pylades, v. 21.
 quamlibet, ix. 24.
 quamvis, with indic., i. 25; ii. 11.
 — with subj., v. 50.
 — adverbial, ix. 39.
 qui, v. 41.
 quid ('how small'), viii. 17.
 rapidus, use, vii. 20.
 relative, restrictive, vii. 8.
 respicio, viii. 13.
 rings, vii. 1. 7.
 Rufinus, p. xlvii.
 Rufus, p. xvii.
 Salanus, p. xlvii.

Samos (=Same), v. 67.
 Samothrace, x. 45.
 sarcina, iii. 84.
 Severus, p. xlvii.
 sic . . . ut, ix. 62.
 simile, vi. 11; ix. 13.
 — compressed, iii. 73.
 si quis, vii. 1.
 sodales, iii. 65.
 sparsi capilli, i. 12.
 Sterope, xi. 14.
 sto, ix. 17.
 sub, ii. 109; iii. 19.
 subjunctive, consecutive (restrictive), i. 88; iii. 102.
 — hypothetical, iii. 21; vi. 29;
 viii. 45.
 — jussive (interrogative), ii. 31.
 — optative, i. 58; ix. 3.
 — of attendant circumstance, ii.
 95; iii. 26.
 — with *priusquam*, v. 13.
 — with *quod*, i. 20; ii. 84.
 subscribo, ii. 3.
 Symplegades, x. 34.
 tamen, i. 96.
 Telegonus, i. 113.
 Telephus, i. 100.
 Tempyra, p. 85.
 texta, iv. 9.
 textual criticism:—
 gloss, ii. 78.
 MSS. of *Tristia*, p. lx. ff.
 „ elegies wrongly divided
 in, p. 75.
 „ lines transposed in, vi. 29.
 „ reading of, wrong, viii. 21.
 Theseus and Pirithous, iii. 66.
 thing for person, v. 36.
 titulus, i. 53.
 tmesis, x. 22.
 Tomi, p. xix; v. 61; x. 41.
 Trojan race, founders of, x. 25.
 Turnus, ii. 5.
 turris, p. 102.

tutela of ship, iv. 8; x. 1.
 Tuticanus, p. xlvi.
 Tyndaridae, x. 45.
 vaccinium, i. 5.
 vale, indeclinable substantive, iii.
 57; viii. 26.
 vastus, i. 85.
 vel, viii. 21.

Vergil, reminiscences of, ii. 99;
 iii. 25, 93; iv. 6; viii. 41, 42;
 ix. 49; x. 7; xi. 23.
 vesper, ii. 28.
 Vestalis, p. xlvi.
 ullus, with negatives, v. 1.
 Ulysses, i. 113; ii. 9; v. 57; vi. 22.
 ut in indirect questions, ix. 7.
 Zerynthus, p. 84.

THE END.

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